

# SECRET ANECDOTES

OF THE

REVOLUTION of the 18th FRUCTIDOR;

(SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1797;)

AND

## NEW MEMOIRS

OF THE

PERSONS DEPORTED TO GUIANA,

WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES;

CONTAINING

LETTERS from General Murinais, Messrs. Barthélemy, Tronçon-du-Coudray, Laffond-Ladébat, De la Rue, &c. &c.—A NARRATIVE of Events that took place at Guiana subsequent to the Escape of Pichegru, Ramel, &c.—A PICTURE of the Prisons of Rochefort, by Richer-Serisy—AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of the Captivity and Escape of Sir Sydney Smith—A MEMOIRE by Barbé-Marbois, &c. &c.

FORMING A SEQUEL

TO THE

“NARRATIVE OF GENERAL RAMEL.”

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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SECRET ANECDOTES



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THE FRENCH EDITOR'S  
P R E F A C E  
TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE first edition of the following volume was prepared for the press with so much hurry and precipitation, that all the zeal and assiduity of the Writers were unable to prevent several inaccuracies from creeping into the work; nor was I at that time possessed of all the information with which it is now augmented.

The prodigious success it has obtained, must therefore be attributed to the interest excited by the unfortunate men who are the subject of it, rather than to any merit the work itself may boast.

In the former edition, the chapter of *Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor* was not sufficiently full, nor did it give a complete idea of the events of that memorable day. This chapter has now been considerably enlarged, and thus forms a Complete History of a Revolution, of which it is highly interesting and important to know both the causes and the effects.

In the first edition also was remarked some degree of confusion in the arrangement of the materials, arising from the great haste with which it was sent to press. In the present, I have endeavoured to correct this defect, and have given the events it relates, in the chronological order of time in which they happened, and which is so necessary to be observed in every historical narration.

GIGUET.

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## SECRET ANECDOTES,

&c. &c.

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SEVERAL days previous to the 18th Fructidor the most conspicuous of the Deputies having met together, a member of the Committee of Inspectors proposed to attack the Directory, and put Barras, Reubell, and Laréveillière-Lepaux under accusation. But the majority, consisting of temporizers, thus opposed the measure. "The constitution," said one, "will suffice for our defence."—"The constitution has no power against the force of cannon," replied Willot, "and 'tis thus the Directory will resist your decrees."—"The soldiers will not be for them," said the temporizers. "The soldiers are for those who command them," replied their opponents; "and if you do not decide, you are lost."—"The attack of the Directory is too hazardous an enterprise," said another. "Tis not so much as the taking of a redoubt," replied

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plied Willot with energy, "and I will undertake it." But Willot, Pichegru, and De la Rue, were treated as wrong-headed enthusiasts; and there the matter ended.

The next day two members of the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred waited on the Director Carnot, who received them very coldly. His friend Lacuée had contrived to persuade him that the royalists alone would be gainers by the intended change; and that the removal of his three colleagues was a mere pretext. Hence Carnot replied to the members of the Committee, "that he would by no means consent to the accusation proposed; that he perceived royalism behind the scenes, and that he had no inclination to be hanged."

Some days before this he had said to two Deputies who were urging him to a decision, "I will not have any concern with it. Whenever you attack a member of the Directory, 'tis with him I shall unite."

Lacuée, one of the Directorial *observers*, had so conducted himself as to have nothing to fear from either party. The triumvirate owed him much, and he contributed in no small degree to the misfortunes of his-colleagues.

During



During the night of the 16th, some members of the Council of Five Hundred waited on the Committee of Inspectors, to inform them that an Aid-de-camp of one of the Directorial Generals had just received orders to mount his horse, and attend his commanding officer. The members of that Committee were surprised at this intelligence, while some of them laughed at those who communicated it. The attack did not take place, and the next day the incredulous triumphed in their foresight. Emery, one of those who had boasted the most of their moderation, said from the tribune, "that the representatives who had communicated that intelligence were *alarmists*."

'Tis scarcely possible to form an idea of the unsuspecting security of this class of the Deputies. They met every night in the hall of the Council of Ancients. On the 17th every one declared his grounds of fear, or of hope. The former were innumerable and decisive, but were rejected by the *faction of the Incredulous*. Vaublanc went so far as to propose a wager to Quatremèr, who maintained that the legislative body would be attacked.

It was at this time that Bourdon de l'Oise, who was well practised in revolutionary commotions, came forward amidst the disputants, and said with



fury and indignation, " You cannot repulse bayonets with a shield of paper. I know but one means of defence—to go to the Luxembourg, and take off the heads of the conspirators."—" He is drunk," said some of the members coldly; and they proceeded with the discussion of the merit and the power of the constitutional act.

The placard which the Directory intended to post up against Pichegru being presented to him, he said, " I shall reply to it to-morrow from the tribune."—" It will perhaps then be too late," said they.—" Then," added he, " it shall be before the High Court."

At ten o'clock at night a member of the Council of Five Hundred went to consult Barthélemy. " I well know," said he, " that three of my colleagues are plotting some conspiracy; but they are not ready, they can do nothing within three or four days." This assurance, which was immediately communicated to the assembly, was a triumph to the Quietists, and every one peaceably returned to his home and to his bed.

It was Merlin who suggested the plan of operations to the triumvirate, and at that time he doubted not but he should, in his turn, be one day the victim of a similar revolution. Reubell approved of Merlin's

lin's plan ; but Barras entertained some fears, and left to the *Theophilanthropic* patriarch the glory of determining before him. At length Sottin determined all their opinions, by assuring them that the Councils were to commence the attack that very night. The character of Sottin did not correspond with his name. He was no fool. He knew that fear itself made cowards brave. He resorted, therefore, to intimidation, and Barras became courageous. Sottin was of an active, enterprising spirit, and proposed to shoot Carnot and forty-two Deputies, among whom were Thibaudeau and Dupont of Nemours. Laréveillère, and more especially Dondeau, afterwards Minister of Police, considered this measure as dangerous, and dreaded its execution. They adjourned, therefore, the decision of their fate till after the victory.

It was also under discussion to shoot the commandant of the guard of the two Councils, Cochon, Ex-minister of Police, General Morgan, Dofsonville, Agent of Police, and three or four journalists. Reubell also insisted on Bourdon de l'Oise being sacrificed. As deportation had not as yet been proposed, they spoke only of imprisoning Barthélemy, and declaring his nomination void. He was to be replaced by Augereau : but the triumph  
virs

virs did not keep their word with him. He took his revenge on the 30th Prairial.

The conspirators did not expect so easy a victory as they eventually obtained; Barras, therefore, resigned to Augereau the duty of appearing at the head of the troops. Barras, it seems, is far from being destitute of prudence.

Sottin proposed to the triumvirs to post up in the night of the 17th an address, declaring that the Directory had only repulsed force by force, and that they had just been attacked by the troops of the two Councils. "That assertion," said Laréveillère, "is but too easily contradicted; the people will not believe it."—"They will believe it for a day," replied Sottin, "and that is all we want; what they may think after to-morrow is of little importance." The ingenious Minister undertook to draw up the address, and before five in the morning it was posted all over Paris; care was also taken to disperse it over the departments.

Before the alarm-gun was fired, the triumvirate gave orders to arrest the Directors Barthélemy and Carnot. A German Adjutant-general in the French service was appointed to execute these orders.

Carnot preferred being himself vanquished to conquering in conjunction with men whom he considered

considered as royalists; on the one hand he had only deportation to fear; on the other, as a regicide, he imagined the gallows would be his fate. Indeed he was very near being arrested, in which case he would undoubtedly have been assassinated; for the triumvirs, thinking they had cause to fear him, had given orders to that effect; he had himself taken no precautions, and was in bed when the runners sent in search of him arrived; his brother almost lost his presence of mind; but his servant, who was not at all disconcerted, took a candle, declared that his master had gone to bed in his little apartment, and while conducting the guard thither, gave Carnot's brother time to apprise him, and favour his escape. The Director fled, almost naked, by one of the gates of the Luxembourg garden, of which he had kept the key, but not finding it readily, his conductor was obliged to return for it, and quitted the apartment on one side, as the guard entered it on the other; he was, however, fortunate enough not to be surprised.

Carnot, not knowing whither to go, went at first to a lodging-house, but not finding any apartments at liberty, he determined to repair to the house of a friend, who had himself taken flight through fear of being arrested. In the mean while



the firing of cannon was heard, and numerous patrols were parading the streets; Carnot, therefore, was obliged to trust himself to his friend's porter, to whom he declared his name and situation, and solicited an asylum: the poor fellow was too much awake to sympathy and misfortune to hesitate a moment; his lodge became the sanctuary of hospitality, and the fugitive Director remained there several days without any adverse event, till he had time to choose another retreat.

Carnot, then, is not dead, as the world has been disposed to imagine, though his situation does not permit us to name the spot where he has secreted himself from his enemies, but we can assure the public that he does not repent of his political conduct; he only reproaches himself for his crimes; he remembers with terror, and perhaps with grief, the event of the 21st of January, and the remorse he feels doubles the weight of his misfortunes.

Barthélemy did not escape arrestation, though Barras had endeavoured that very evening to awaken his apprehensions; but his indolence was so great that he did not take the smallest precaution: after playing a game at back-gammon he went to rest, and was taken in his bed.

Barthélemy,

Barthélemy, though not possessed of great talents, has a very sound judgment, and considerable diplomatic knowledge, though his correspondence, however, with the Committee of Public Safety, affords just cause of reproach. He entered, it is true, on the directorial function with very good intentions; he shuddered at the conduct of his colleagues, and still more at being associated with them in office: the evening preceding his arrestation he appeared very averse to believe that measure probable; and when Carnot parted from him, the latter said with a laugh, "Be not uneasy, my dear Barthélemy; they will perhaps endeavour to assassinate me; but as to you, you are too harmless a man to be dreaded; they will treat you like one of those shadows of kings called *Rois fainéans*; they will shave your head, and shut you up in a monastery."

Neither of them believed the blow would be struck so soon. When Barthélemy was arrested he did not indulge a moment's reflection, and had not even the presence of mind to demand a sight of the order of arrestation: "Oh, my country!" were the only words that escaped him. Le Tellier then addressing the guard, asked leave to accompany his master; Barthélemy could not help shedding

tears; and Le Tellier ardently pressing his hand, exclaimed with the energy of exalted virtue, "No, never, never, will I forsake you."

The members of the committee had no sooner met, than a considerable force surrounded them, at the head of which was Augereau. Rovère and Willot were desirous to attempt to force a passage through this body, holding their pistols in their hands; but Pichegru opposed the measure. "The rest of our colleagues," said he, "have no arms, and these wretches would massacre them; let us not abandon them." At that moment a noise was heard; it was the representative De la Rue, who, unwilling to separate his fate from that of his colleagues, had the courage thrice to force a passage through the guard to join the committee. In vain had he been apprised at his own house of the danger he was about to incur; he was deaf to the counsels of friendship; and, having embraced his wife and children in their sleep, repaired to his colleagues. When he arrived, Pichegru exclaimed, "My dear De la Rue, what brings you hither? we are on the point of being arrested."—"Well," replied De la Rue, "we shall then be arrested together."

Presently after the troops came in. "In the name of the Directory," said an Aid-du-camp of Augereau, "I arrest you."—"Wretch," said Pichegru, "how darest thou pronounce those words?"—"Soldiers," exclaimed another member, "would you be so base as to arrest the Representatives of the People, or lay hands on your General, Pichegru?" On hearing these words they looked at each other, and dared not advance, till Augereau himself arrived, and undertook to execute the order of the triumvirs with the assistance of the officers of his staff. Four officers fell upon Pichegru; Augereau and four others seized Willot; Aubry, De la Rue, and Rovère, were arrested in like manner; in vain did they all endeavour to defend themselves; they were forced to yield to superior numbers. Rovère and Pichegru were wounded, and their clothes torn in pieces; and De la Rue, who had succeeded in getting hold of one of his pistols, which he was about to point at Augereau, received a wound in the arm from a bayonet, which disabled him, and deprived him of his weapon.

Dumas, a member of the committee of the Council of Elders, was present when they were first surrounded; upon which he went down stairs with great apparent unconcern, relying on his military



dress to facilitate his flight; the sentinel declared that none could go out; "I know it," replied Dumas, "for I have just given the order myself."—"I ask pardon, General," said the soldier; and Dumas passed on without further interruption. His next difficulty was the quitting Paris, for which purpose he mounted his horse, and took two of his friends with him as Aid-du-camps; the ingenious General, on his arrival at the barriers of the city, gave his orders, passed along the outside of the wall under pretext of going to another post, and thus at length got off.

Bourdon de l'Oise had also come to the committee in the morning, and was in the hall when a soldier, who had doubtless served with him under the banners of the revolution, seemed to take an interest in his fate, and endeavoured to save him by pushing him rudely towards the door; which Bourdon perceiving, showed an indignation that does him honour. "Your favour," exclaimed he, "humiliates me; I will not fly. Oh, my colleagues!" continued he, "forget my errors; I will merit your esteem by sharing your fate." On hearing these words they fell upon him, and treated him in a barbarous manner: as he was drawing along in a cart, he was continually uttering

uttering imprecations against the temporizers, "who," he said, "were the cause of this catastrophe."

All the avenues of the Thuilleries were occupied by the troops of Augereau, and no one was permitted to enter; yet at seven o'clock about thirty members of the Council of Five Hundred assembled in their hall, to which they passed through the stables and gardens, and by scaling the walls in the neighbourhood. Here they were waiting for the arrival of more of their colleagues, when one of them declared that the inspectors had been violently carried off, and that the armed force were driving the representatives of the people from the hall of the Council of Ancients. Not doubting the same fate awaited them, the thirty deputies immediately formed themselves into a regular sitting, under the presidency of Siméon.

The first resolution they adopted was to summon the commandant of the post at the iron gate of the great court to their bar, to give him orders to allow free ingress and regress to the serjeants of the hall, who were instructed to collect the absent members. This commandant was the worthy Blot, the only officer who at this time seems to have felt a just sense of honour and of his duty. "I am a prisoner

" as

“ as well as you,” replied he, “ because I refused  
 “ to obey any orders but those of my commandant ;  
 “ a detachment is placed in the avenue to block  
 “ me up, together with my grenadiers.” This  
 intelligence put an end to all hopes of external  
 communication ; since therefore they could not  
 possibly assemble their colleagues, they determined  
 to take advantage of the short interval that re-  
 mained, to enter their protest in the minutes of the  
 day.

They had scarcely begun when General Poinçot,  
 accompanied by three or four officers, whose coun-  
 tenances exhibited an impudent and ferocious ex-  
 ultation, entered the hall by one of the side doors,  
 holding in his hand an order of Augereau, which  
 he read with an arrogance worthy of his mission.  
 It was to the following effect :

“ The general officer in command at the Thuil-  
 “ leries is ordered to cause the halls of the two  
 “ Councils to be evacuated, and not to permit any  
 “ person whatsoever to enter them.

(Signed) “ AUGEREAU.”

On hearing this paper read, a kind of electric  
 sensation seemed to agitate all the members ; they  
 were contending who should have the honour of  
 mounting the tribune, when this tool of the tyrants  
 told

told them "that he was a foldier, that it was his  
 "duty to execute the orders of his commanding  
 "officer, and *that he was not come thither to delibe-*  
*rate.*" They now demanded a copy of the order,  
 and as soon as the president had obtained it,  
 unanimously declared, that force alone could put  
 it in execution. Upon this the General gave a sig-  
 nal to a foldier, who stood at the door by which he  
 had come in, and immediately a great number of  
 armed foldiers entered the hall. Seeing the fatel-  
 lites of tyranny already pressing their bayonets  
 against the breasts of the representatives, Siméon, in  
 a tone of grief, and with the utmost emotion, pro-  
 nounced these remarkable words—"The rights of  
 "the people are annihilated; the constitution is  
 "trodden under foot; the national representation  
 "is basely violated, and the hall of their sittings  
 "profaned by an armed force.—Until the authors  
 "of this atrocious outrage shall be brought to jus-  
 "tice, I declare, in the name of the nation, that  
 "the assembly is dissolved\*."

The

\* Ramel has thrown out an insinuation against the Legislative Body, by drawing a humiliating parallel between their conduct on the 18th Fructidor, and that of the Constituent Assembly at the Tennis-court. But what would that assembly have done had the



The representatives, still pressed and threatened by bayonets, were driven, at length, into the great court of the Manège, but in lieu of finding the gate open, as the General had declared, they were stopped by more bayonets placed across each other before them; and when they expressed their surprise at this, they were informed that orders had been given to proceed to the arrest of some of them. Poinçot having said a few words to one of his officers, called for the representative Aubry, who immediately answered to his name; upon which the officer came up to him and separated him from his colleagues, who were then permitted to depart.

At noon a great number of the representatives having assembled at the house of one of their colleagues, who resided in the Rue Saint Honoré, it was unanimously decided, they should brave every danger. Each of the Councils, therefore, formed into a line, and thus they advanced to the gates of

the tyrant Louis XVI. acted with a firmness adequate to the audaciousness of the *Republicans* of the Luxembourg? It was not now a master of the ceremonies that was sent to them with a gracious message, it was Augereau at the head of 10,000 soldiers. Mirabeau declared that the Constituent Assembly would only yield to the power of the bayonet: all the force of the bayonets was employed on the 18th Fructidor!

their

their respective halls. Siméon and Pastoret, in their scarfs, preceded the Council of Five Hundred, and summoned the troops that occupied the avenues to let them pass. On meeting with a refusal, they spoke in a tone of authority, and of indignation; and the commandant, fearing his men might suffer themselves to be seduced, ordered a company of chasseurs to march upon the trot against the representatives of the people. Thus in danger of being trodden under foot, they were obliged to retire with precipitation. Jourdan, however, of the Bouches-du-Rhône, braving the danger, and holding by the bars of a window, exclaimed, "Villain, thou mayst crush me to death, but thou shalt never make me fly." With these words the soldier was so forcibly struck, that he stopped his horse, not daring to complete his crime.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, more than eighty members of the Council of Five Hundred were assembled at the apartments of André of Lozère in the Rue-neuve-du-Luxembourg, where they drew up an address to the people of France. Pastoret and Jourdan, devoting themselves for the honour of the national representation, offered to brave every danger, and to carry it themselves to the Directory. But scarcely had the mem-

bers

bers begun to sign it, when an armed force came to surround the house of Laffond-Ladébat in the same street, and there was little doubt, the house where they were assembled was their next object. Feeling, therefore, that it would be imprudent and unwise to deliver themselves up, bound hand and foot, to the fury of the triumphant party, they adjourned till the next day.

The body assembled at the Odeon, completed their work during the night; and on the morning of the 19th, their victims were marched out, and spies sent in search of them. Resistance now became more difficult, for it was impossible to concert measures together, or even to see each other. The most conspicuous were obliged to seek a safe retreat; and the rest had not sufficient influence to form and execute any enterprise, even for attempting a resistance to oppression.

Several members of the Council of Ancients had repaired to the house of their president Laffond-Ladébat; which the armed force surrounded, when he was at table with his wife and family, consisting of six children, while his colleagues were deliberating in an adjoining apartment. Being informed of the arrival of the guard, and solicited to conceal himself, "No," replied he, as he rose to present

himself to them; "they will not search any further, " and my colleagues may escape." Unfortunately, however, they were known to be in the house, and were all arrested. Madame Ladébat being taken ill with the sudden shock, her husband supported her in his arms, and received the last endearments of his children, who clung round him, and bathed him in their tears.—"My children," said he, "weep not, for your father is not guilty."

While the arrested Deputies were conducting to the Temple, their future fate was the subject of discussion at the Luxembourg. Several of the conspirators proposed to have them shot immediately. Of this opinion were Sottin, Bailleul, and Reubell. Laréveillère, who, in the morning, had appeared to espouse a different opinion, yielded to the solicitations of his colleague. But Barras strongly opposed this measure, and was supported by Dondeau, who (from what motive, is unknown) was one of the agents of the committee. At length Guillemardet, *to put an end to the debate*, proposed deportation, in lieu of imprisonment in Ham castle; as had just been suggested. This Guillemardet, who was a Jacobin in 1793, and afterwards, together with his friend Bailleul, was at the head of the societies called *Compagnies de Jésus*, after the 9th



Thermidor; and again, an enthusiast, previous to the 18th Fructidor; was one of the principal actors in this scene. His friend Lacroix had told him he would one day be a great man; and accordingly, this little country surgeon, from Autun, is now the representative of the French nation, at the Court of His Majesty the King of Spain.

At the Temple the Deputies found Sir Sydney Smith, the man who has lately been combating Buonaparte in Egypt. "Gentlemen," said that officer, "yesterday you were members of the government of France, and we were enemies; to-day, since we are companions in misfortune, I should be happy to be serviceable to you." When he witnessed their departure, he wept at their fate, and exclaimed, "Is it thus that France rewards her defenders? your countrymen are surely a very cruel nation!"—"Commodore," replied Murinais, "believe it not; 'tis not Frenchmen that are the cause of our deportation, they commiserate our lot; do not confound my countrymen with their tyrants." Thus did the General forget his own misfortunes to become the champion of the honour of his country.

On the 18th Fructidor, this worthy old man was at his post at his accustomed hour, ignorant  
of

of every thing that had past during the preceding night. It was not long, however, before he received the intelligence. "Your name is in the fatal list," said his informers; "fly, and conceal yourself."—"I will endeavour," replied he, "to elude the danger; but I will not fly." He had not proceeded many steps before he heard the name of Murinais pronounced: "Yes, gentlemen," said he, returning, and addressing the person who came to arrest him, "I am Murinais; you are not mistaken." But neither his hoary locks, the dignity of his conduct, the calm tranquillity so characteristic of unfulled innocence, nor the sacred veneration due to age, could disarm or change their purposes; and he was conducted to the prison of the Temple.

Sottin had just then conducted the Director Barthélemy to that prison. "Who is that man?" inquired Augereau, fixing his eyes on Le Tellier, who accompanied his master. "He is my friend," replied Barthélemy. "Doubtless he will not be willing to accompany you every where?" said Augereau. "I will go every where," replied Le Tellier, "with my master, and, if necessary, I will die with him." Upon this Augereau cast a look of

of anger at this victim of friendship and fidelity, and went away swearing.

Worthy, amiable Le Tellier! how noble, how generous was thy conduct! By thus voluntarily sharing the misfortunes of thy master, thou hast for ever secured the esteem and veneration of every one that is capable of appreciating true virtue. May thy name be handed down to posterity, and thy great and energetic actions give repose to the sinking mind, when overwhelmed with the contemplation of the crimes and ingratitude of mankind!

After repeated solicitations, the gates of the prison were opened to the wives of the arrested persons; the fate of their husbands was as yet uncertain. Mesdames Ladébat, Murinais, De la Rue, Rovère, and Aubry, came attended by their children: what a dreadful scene for those unfortunate women! Every step they proceeded in the courts and passages of this abode of horror, inflicted a new pang on their tender feelings; while inebriated soldiers ferociously insulted their miseries. "Those rascals," said one, "will be shot to-morrow."—"And I am sure," added another, "they will make wry faces on the occasion." The youngest of them, however, requested them to be silent, saying

saying it was cruel to hold such language before the wives of the prisoners; but the wretches only answered him with insults.

Pichegru, perceiving the wives of his fellow-prisoners, came up to them, and taking in his arms the infant child of De la Rue, who was weeping bitterly; "Why do you cry so, my dear child?" said the General (himself bursting into tears as he embraced him). "Because," answered the child, "naughty soldiers have arrested dear papa."—"You are right," replied Pichegru with indignation, and casting a look of contempt at the guard; "they are indeed naughty soldiers, for good soldiers would never have consented to become executioners." The soldiers themselves seemed thunderstruck with these words; they looked at each other, and were silent.

Augereau, seeing two of the wives of the prisoners go away weeping, said with a laugh, "These women are fools to cry so; were they their parours, indeed there might be some reason."

The minority of the Councils had assembled at the theatre of the Odeon and the Surgeons' school. The first object of their attention was to draw up lists of proscription; a secretary read over the names of the Deputies, as was done on the 2d of September,



September, in alphabetical order, and after each name the president took the sense of the assembly, saying, " Shall he be deported?" to which his colleague in this deputation answered " Yes," and the rest held up their hands as a mark of their assent and fidelity; upon which the secretary inscribed the name in the fatal list.

When they came to that of Mare-Curtin, which the secretary mis-pronounced, " Who is that?" said they; " we know him not, he has never spoken."—" Pshaw!" cried a member of the deputation, " no matter; he belonged to the League of Clichy, he must go with the rest;"—and then they laughed.

The same steps were pursued with regard to the journalists. Bailleul, knowing the destined victims better than the rest of his colleagues, was appointed to select them.

When the decree of deportation was brought to the Temple, Augereau, who was there, said with fury, " This is their constant method; they spoil every thing with their moderantism;" and Bourdon de l'Oise, covering his face with both his hands, exclaimed in a melancholy tone, " Where shall I find a place to lay my head?—I that have voted for the death of my king!"

The

The wives of the deported persons waited on several of the Deputies to obtain an alleviation of their fate. "What reason have you to complain?" replied Jacomin, who had just been nominated a member of the Committee of Inspectors: "your husbands will be deported, whereas they deserved death."—"They have been treated with lenity," said another; "they ought to have been shot." Bailleul said, with a smile of derision, that Guiana was a very good country; and there was nothing alarming in deportation. Le Hardy alone showed some signs of humanity.

The wife of one of the deported waited on Merlin, hoping to move his compassion, by representing the great age and infirmities of her husband. She employed in his behalf that affecting eloquence which flows directly from the heart, and which women alone seem to possess. Merlin, indeed, for a moment, appeared somewhat affected; some tears escaped him, and he promised to comply; but when he returned to the Directory he soon overcame this emotion, and was the first to move the order of the day on his memorial. Incredible as it may appear, it is a fact, that Merlin, after having dropt two or three tears, revenged himself

himself for his humanity being thus surprised, by the rejection of the petition.

Madame Ladébat never came to the Temple, but her husband said to her, " Since you are determined to take some steps, beware of speaking for me alone. Speak for all ; for I will never consent to separate my fate from that of my colleagues." Laffond-Ladébat was at the head of a considerable house of trade, and its failure might have ruined many other houses. Yet even these considerations, powerful as they were, did not influence his conduct.

Two hours after their arrival in the Temple, the deported persons visited the apartments in the tower. " This," said La Vilheurnois, who acted as their guide, " was the chamber of the unfortunate Louis XVI.;" and Rovère raised his hands towards heaven, struck his forehead, and retired with horror.

The deported examined with the greatest attention the following sentences written with a pencil on the wall of one of the apartments: " O my God, forgive those who have put my relations to death ! O my Father, look down upon me from the heavens above ! May the French nation be happy !"—" Gentlemen," said La Vilheurnois,  
 " by

“ by these few words which she has inscribed, you  
 “ may judge of the greatness of soul of the daught-  
 “ ter of Louis XVI,—“ She was an angel,” added  
 the keeper: “ as long as I am here, these lines  
 “ shall never be effaced.”—“ You are a worthy fel-  
 “ low,” said Pichegru; and De la Rue wrote under  
 the words, “ May the French nation be happy!”  
 the following sentence: “ God will hear the  
 “ prayers of innocence.”

The keeper treated the deported with great kindness, as he had always acted towards his prisoners. He was shortly after discharged.

In the evening of the 18th Fructidor, the wife of one of the deported was accosted as she left the Temple by a man she did not know: “ You are  
 “ the wife,” said he, “ of one of those unfortu-  
 “ nate men.”—“ Yes, Sir,” replied she, and told  
 him the name of her husband. “ Ah, Madam,”  
 said he, “ he has not had time to collect together  
 “ a great stock of money; permit my friendship to  
 “ supply him with this trifling advance.” And  
 with these words he presented her three rouleaux of  
 louis d’ors, with a delicacy that admitted of no  
 refusal. “ Generous man!” said she, “ my hus-  
 “ band can have no need of them: his friends  
 “ have already provided for him.”—“ Well,” re-  
 plied the stranger, “ Pichegru, Willot, and the  
 “ rest,



“ rest, are not so fortunate. Let them accept the offering of a sincere friend.” And with these words he slipped the money into her bosom, notwithstanding her endeavours to refuse it. In vain did she inquire the name of this estimable man;—he left her without answering her inquiries. Worthy D\*\*\*\*! in vain hast thou endeavoured to bury thy generosity in oblivion. Thy colleagues have discovered thy name, and have not been deceived in their conjectures.

An old man, a stranger to Madame L\*\*\*, waited upon her in the morning of the 19th Fructidor, and addressed her in the following terms: “ Madam,” said he, “ I have promised your husband my friendship and esteem. Have the goodness to deliver him these fifty louis d’ors. I am unfortunate in having at present no more to offer him. Adieu, Madam; you must not feel your delicacy wounded: I am only lending your husband a trifle, which he will repay me at his return.” With these words the old man took his leave, without mentioning his name. His generosity, however, soon betrayed him.

Pichegru, at his departure for Guiana, wept over the fate of his sister, and of his poor brother, a minister of the Catholic religion, whom he entirely maintained,

maintained, and who were thus deprived of all their resources and support: for Pichegru was rich in nothing but in virtues. Accordingly, when he departed, he left a debt of six hundred livres unpaid. It was demanded of these two unfortunate persons, and they were unable to retain the few remaining objects of their affection, the dress, the hat, and the sword, of the conqueror of Holland. They were sold. These were the only riches of this simple and virtuous man. What a contrast! The chief movers of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, now driven from their thrones, retire *to their estates*; while Pichegru, proud of his honourable poverty, wanders in hapless exile far from his native country.

Barthélemy, successively Ambassador and Director of the French nation, had no other property than a farm, worth about twenty-five thousand livres.

Willot, at the time of his proscription, had no more than one thousand livres; and this sum he had lent to a man he considered as his friend, and who, under various flimsy prettexts, refused to repay his debt.

Laffond-Ladébat, entirely devoted to the interests of his country, had long forgotten to pursue his

his own advantage. Though he had once been possessed of immense property, he now left no more than would liquidate his debts; and his children, who had been brought up in expectation of opulence, have no other patrimony than the example of his probity and of his virtues.

De la Rue maintained his aged father and all his family, who were rich before the revolution, but were entirely ruined by that event; and he was even indebted to the generosity of friendship for the aids he received at his departure. His worthy and respectable father was now inconsolable. His misfortunes however were not able to destroy him, and he lived in hopes of again beholding his son. Four months after this cruel separation, he was informed that an officer of marine had arrived at Paris, who had seen him in the wilds of Guiana. He was exceedingly anxious immediately to see and to converse with this officer; and as his story must be interesting to the whole family, they were all assembled to receive him. The worthy officer came; but the old man, overpowered with joy as he arose to embrace him, fell a victim to his pleasure and surprise, and died in his arms.

Tronçon du Coudray had no revenue but his salary,

salary, and of this he was of course deprived before his departure for Guiana.

Almost all the deported persons had long filled the first offices of the republic, yet on the 18th Fructidor they were suddenly reduced to indigence. Inhabitants of France, compare and judge!

A Letter from one of the proscribed Deputies will throw additional light on this memorable Revolution.

*De la Rue to his Friend G—— at Paris.*

“ Sinamary, 26th Frimaire, sixth Year.

“ My health and my courage do not fail me.

“ Both the one and the other are causes of despair.

“ to our destroyers. They imagine that while

“ they at once attack our bodies by the most bar-

“ barous treatment, and our minds by depriving

“ us of all that is dear to us, we shall at length

“ sink beneath the weight of such an accumula-

“ tion of evils. The strength, however, that is

“ derived from a pure conscience cannot be con-

“ ceived by the man that is continually persecuted

“ by remorse. His hopes are extinguished, and

“ the future offers no charms to those who dread

“ the punishment of their crimes. Hence our



“ dastardly persecutors could not have believed  
 “ our resignation so great,—they could not form  
 “ an estimate of our energy: for we derived it  
 “ from a source which to them is utterly unknown.  
 “ Their rigour towards us is injurious even to  
 “ their own plans: for we perceive in it a kind of  
 “ barometer of their fears and alarms. Hence,  
 “ the more severe they are, the more do our hopes  
 “ increase; and our confidence in the courage, the  
 “ love of true liberty, and the principles of honour  
 “ of the French nation, gain strength. We are per-  
 “ suaded they already perceive the wickedness and  
 “ atrociousness of their tyrants. Oh, that we could  
 “ have laid open to them the truth before our de-  
 “ portation! Oh, that we could have proclaimed  
 “ to them:—

“ ‘ We have long observed and narrowly watched  
 “ the manœuvres of the triumvirs to remove the  
 “ obstacles that opposed their outrageous tyranny;  
 “ to extinguish the light that would have betrayed  
 “ their scandalous dilapidations, and to destroy all  
 “ those virtuous men who were desirous the con-  
 “ stitution should rest on the only pillars that  
 “ could support it—justice in all its plenitude, and  
 “ order in all its rigour.’

“ Already had we detected an attempt, of which

“ Hoche

“ Hoche was the chief mover, and which at this  
 “ day must appear demonstrative to the most in-  
 “ credulous, namely, that the troops brought to  
 “ Paris under his orders were intended for the en-  
 “ terprise afterwards executed by Augereau. My  
 “ denunciation of that measure was, however, at  
 “ that time considered as too strong, by certain  
 “ temporizers, who, notwithstanding, were no  
 “ better treated than myself, and who suffer the  
 “ additional shame and remorse of being the pri-  
 “ mary causes of the calamities of their country.  
 “ These men more particularly censured the pas-  
 “ sage wherein I represented, that the march of  
 “ those troops was a part of a grand plan of  
 “ attack, formed long before, upon the purest part  
 “ of the legislative body, and the execution of  
 “ which was perhaps deferred only for a short  
 “ period. Yet my suspicions were but too just,  
 “ and we were in possession of such proofs as  
 “ amounted to a moral certainty, a week before  
 “ the perpetration of the crime. There were in  
 “ the Council a vast number even of thinking  
 “ men, who would not believe it without mathe-  
 “ matical demonstration and physical proof. But  
 “ is it not a strange mode of combatting conspira-  
 “ tors, to defer attacking them till their conspiracy

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“ has

" has broken out; that is to say, till no means  
 " exist for preventing its success? A body whose  
 " whole force and most effectual resistance reside  
 " in words and in public opinion, must necessarily  
 " fall, unless they can anticipate their destroyers.  
 " Of this truth our history is one instance, among  
 " innumerable others. Yet notwithstanding the  
 " difficulties we encountered at every step, Pi-  
 " chegru and myself carried a resolution that a  
 " Report would be made from the Committee of  
 " Inspectors; and it was of importance that the  
 " member who was to make it should have but  
 " few prejudices to contend with. Thibaudeau  
 " would have been the most proper person; but  
 " he refused. Emmery was equally indisposed to  
 " undertake this office; and our last resource was  
 " Vaublanc, who did not accept it till after three  
 " days of uncertainty. He was to have made the  
 " Report on the 17th; but by what fatality I know  
 " not, he was not ready on the day appointed.  
 " We demanded therefore his word of honour  
 " that he would complete it the next day; and  
 " this pledge he gave us. Thus the Report now  
 " became certain. The last determination was  
 " taken at half past one o'clock; at two the Di-  
 " rectory were informed of it; and at three the  
 " orders

“ orders were given for the grand enterprife, which  
 “ was to be concealed under the pretext of a  
 “ general military exercife in the plain of Mont-  
 “ rouge. Of this, information was brought us at  
 “ half paf three, at which time, our fitting not  
 “ being clofed, we were defirous of taking advan-  
 “ tage of that circumftance ; I therefore informed  
 “ the prefident, that that Committee were about to  
 “ demand a general committee, and then to invite  
 “ the Council to make its fittings permanent. He  
 “ approved of my plan, which I immediately went  
 “ to tranfmit to the prefident of the Council of An-  
 “ cients, who received it with equal fatisfaction.  
 “ But perceiving that fome members (who were, no  
 “ doubt, in the fecret ; for there were many of them)  
 “ became impatient at the length of the fitting,  
 “ he gave a fignal to D\*\*\*, who was a member  
 “ of the Committee, and asked him what news ;  
 “ upon which D\*\*\*, who was one of the incredu-  
 “ lous, but was fincere in his unbelief, replied, that  
 “ things continued juft in the fame ftate : upon  
 “ which the fitting broke up.

“ The initiated party, dreading our Report, cir-  
 “ culated a rumour in the Council of Five Hundred,  
 “ that the other Council were no longer fitting, and  
 “ immediately ours feparated. This disappoint-



" ment increased the embarrassment of the Com-  
 " mittee, which adjourned at seven o'clock, to con-  
 " cert measures with that of the Council of An-  
 " cients. We had scarcely re-assembled before we  
 " received intelligence by various channels that  
 " the fatal moment was now approaching. But  
 " they all left us in total uncertainty as to the mo-  
 " ment, or even the day, when we were to expect it.

" At eleven o'clock we broke up our sitting,  
 " without knowing any thing further than what  
 " had been told us at the Council, and every thing  
 " exhibiting an appearance of the profoundest tran-  
 " quillity. This circumstance contributed in a  
 " great measure to restore our confidence. The  
 " two members, whose turn it was to be upon  
 " guard, remained alone, agreeing to inform us if  
 " any thing important happened. At two in the  
 " morning they received intelligence that the troops  
 " were in motion, and having convinced themselves  
 " of the truth of this report, by the testimony of  
 " their senses, they dispatched messengers to us  
 " without a moment's loss of time, and prepared  
 " letters of convocation for the members of the  
 " Councils. All our measures were, however,  
 " frustrated by the intervention of the armed force.  
 " The Committee were surrounded, and even ar-  
 " rested,

“ rested, together with ten members of the two  
 “ Councils, who had repaired to it to learn the  
 “ cause of the movements that were taking place.  
 “ I also went thither myself, and having forced my  
 “ way through three bodies of soldiers, I demanded  
 “ to participate in the honourable fate of my col-  
 “ leagues: to which they consented the more rea-  
 “ dily, as I was one of the first on the proscription  
 “ list. In the mean while we held out to the sol-  
 “ diers the Constitution as the only weapon we  
 “ would oppose to them, declaring that they were  
 “ thus rendered guilty of violating both the consti-  
 “ tution and their oaths to support it; but their  
 “ commanding officers replied, that they could obey  
 “ no other law than the orders of the Directory.  
 “ ‘ Then strike,’ said I, at the same time opening  
 “ my bosom, ‘ strike; for it is our duty not to aban-  
 “ don this spot but with our lives:—yes, be the  
 “ assassins’ (continued I, pointing to Pichegru)  
 “ of him, under whom it has been your boast to  
 “ march to victory, and bathe in his blood the  
 “ laurels he has placed upon your brows.’—With  
 “ this folly, in which I was followed by all my col-  
 “ leagues, the soldiers were struck, and hesitated  
 “ for a moment: which their General perceiving,  
 “ re-animated them by seizing one of our number

“ by the collar. Upon this, his example was fol-  
 “ lowed by a score of his men, and immediately  
 “ above two hundred soldiers dragged us to the  
 “ carriages that were in waiting for us.

“ The remainder of our story regards ourselves  
 “ alone, and not the public interest : I therefore  
 “ reserve it for a separate narrative we are draw-  
 “ ing up.

“ Thus it appears, that the only error of the  
 “ Committee, under all these dangers and difficul-  
 “ ties, was, the postponing for four and twenty  
 “ hours, the Report on which they had resolved.  
 “ This Report, however, might, perhaps, have only  
 “ produced new misfortunes to the Committee  
 “ themselves, who could only have declared to the  
 “ Council their full conviction of the fact, and  
 “ have detailed various anonymous, though very  
 “ certain intelligence. Those members who were  
 “ connected with the triumvirs, would have risen  
 “ up against us for having dared to accuse, with-  
 “ out legal proof, the first authorities of the great-  
 “ est of crimes. We should have been called *Ca-*  
 “ *lumniators*, enemies to the constitution, and point-  
 “ ed out as the only true conspirators. The tem-  
 “ porizers and the incredulous, among whom must  
 “ be included the leading members of the Council

“ of

“ of Ancients, would at least have taxed us with  
 “ imprudence and visionary delusion; Augereau  
 “ would equally have performed his *general exercise*,  
 “ which served as the veil to his military operations;  
 “ the Directory would, in a message replete with  
 “ perfidy, have offered a fallacious justification of  
 “ themselves, and no doubt would have brought an  
 “ accusation against the Committee; and thus the  
 “ Council would have recompensed our zeal and  
 “ devotion to our duty, by passing to the order of  
 “ the day, or even, perhaps, by a vote of censure.  
 “ In short, all France would have been convinced,  
 “ that we had, at least, made a very bungling bu-  
 “ siness of our commission.

“ None of these reflections had escaped us, and  
 “ we perceived the whole danger of the step we were  
 “ taking; but we should have been certain of at  
 “ least postponing the execution of the enterprise,  
 “ and of gaining an invaluable interval of time.  
 “ We even hoped afterwards to procure sufficient  
 “ proofs to open the eyes of the Councils, and of  
 “ the nation at large. Our self-love, and our in-  
 “ terest, could not therefore, for an instant, prevail  
 “ against such weighty considerations. We had  
 “ already made up our minds to all these sacrifices,  
 “ and



“ and even to that of our lives : nor can our subsequent conduct leave any doubt of the truth of this assertion.

“ Yet, after weighing both sides of the account, I consider the actual result of these events as fortunate for our country. We, indeed, are most cruelly become the victims of this convulsion, but we are the only victims : all those who were included in the same decree, are either concealed in France itself, or have withdrawn into neighbouring countries, and may in greater safety, and more at their ease, wait for the fall of this Directorial tyranny. We alone are under its lash, which is ready to fall upon us on the least signal from the tyrants.

“ Our countrymen, a part of whom have suffered themselves to be so much deceived relative to our conduct, will now learn the true object of that perfidious faction, and the mass of evils our resistance prevented. Thus they may, at length, decide which party acted with the purest intentions. Had we raised an armed force against them, a civil war would have been the consequence. The soldiers, misled by the calumnies with which the triumvirs overwhelmed them,

“ would

“ would have indulged in the cruellest excesses,  
 “ and the impostors would again have found it  
 “ easy to lay the calamities of the country to our  
 “ charge. But we will leave it to the operation of  
 “ time to open the eyes of the troops. The actions  
 “ of those who now deceive them, will powerfully  
 “ concur in producing this effect; and the armies  
 “ themselves will soon unite with the rest of the  
 “ nation, from which so much pains have been  
 “ taken to separate them, to throw off this shameful  
 “ yoke. Our most ardent wish is, that this may take  
 “ place without too violent a shock, and more  
 “ especially without effusion of blood.—Alas! the  
 “ blood of my countrymen is perhaps flowing,  
 “ even now while I am writing, especially on  
 “ the frontiers of the empire. For, it is highly  
 “ probable, the foreign powers will no longer  
 “ have been willing to negotiate with perjured  
 “ governors, who have violated the laws them-  
 “ selves have instituted, and with usurpers  
 “ that are unworthy of any confidence whatever.  
 “ Hence the war will probably have been renewed  
 “ with increased fury, and all the calamities that have  
 “ already accompanied it will again pour in upon  
 “ our devoted country, which has been too much  
 “ exhausted

“ exhausted to be able to support this new crisis.  
 “ This idea in some measure embitters the conso-  
 “ lations we derive from the hopes of an approach-  
 “ ing change in its situation, and I am more espe-  
 “ cially afflicted with the idea that all I possess, all  
 “ that still attaches me to that miserable country, is  
 “ under the lash of despots, whom circumstances  
 “ will soon furnish with so many pretexts for in-  
 “ dulging their destructive passions. Calumny  
 “ and persecution will now be let loose against  
 “ every one that is connected with us ; but equally  
 “ pure with ourselves, you will, like us, rise supe-  
 “ rior to the transient events of the day, and the  
 “ fury of our enemies will break their force against  
 “ the resistless force of your virtues. With such  
 “ energy you will be certain of triumphing ; for  
 “ most assuredly virtue, and an adherence to the  
 “ principles of order and morality, will at length  
 “ prevail.

“ Adieu ! I must put an end to this fancied  
 “ conversation with my dear friend, for my letter  
 “ is called for. Endeavour to console my unfortu-  
 “ nate Susan, and press my Emilius in thy arms.  
 “ If I must, indeed, meet my fate in distant cli-  
 “ mates, remind my children, that if I have fallen  
 “ a victim

" a victim to the tyranny of men, they ought only  
" to endeavour to revenge my death by exerting  
" their utmost efforts, like their father, to be use-  
" ful to their country.

" Embrace all our friends for me; tell them  
" that nothing shall ever diminish my attachment  
" to them.

(Signed)

" DE LA RUE."



## DEPARTURE FROM PARIS,

AND

## VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

THE deported persons set off by night for the place of their banishment. Murinais, supported by one of his colleagues, entered the iron carriage in which he was to travel, with perfect firmness. "You will be very uncomfortable here," said Du Coudray: "Oh, no!" replied the old man, "there is comfort every where for those whose consciences are at rest." Augereau now approaching Le Tellier, said to him, "For the last time I advise you to reflect on what you are about to engage in; are you absolutely determined to follow this deported man?" (pointing to Barthélemy.) "I have no need of reflection," replied Le Tellier; "I have never deserted my master in prosperity, nor will I abandon him in adversity." — "He is a madman," said Augereau; "let him go."

"What right have you to transport me?" said La Vilheurnois to the Minister Sottin: "I have been tried, and your laws do not authorize this  
 " arbitrary

“ arbitrary measure,”—“ Our laws !” said Sottin, laughing ; “ are they not your laws also ?”—“ No, Sir,” replied he ; “ I do not associate myself with such miscreants.”—“ That,” said Sottin, “ is the very reason why these *miscreants* send you to Guiana.”—“ They will one day come there,” added he, “ and fill our places ; but they will not enjoy the same tranquillity with ourselves.”

The wife of one of the deported persons, not knowing her husband had set off during the night, waited on Reubell at seven in the morning to request a reprieve. Reubell had himself signed the order for his departure ; yet instead of correcting her mistake, he was mean and base enough to promise the delay she requested : thus, when she went to the Temple to announce her success to her husband, she found a note from him which dissipated the illusion.

The deported persons were almost every where thrown into the darkest dungeons ; at Orleans, however, they received the strongest marks of affection and esteem ; means were even sought to enable them to escape ; but as they could not all be saved, the friends of Willot, and De la Rue proposed to furnish them with the means of safety ; this, however, they refused without hesitation, fearing

fearing thereby to aggravate the misfortunes of their colleagues; and Barbé-Marbois, Pichegru, La Vilhurnois, and Aubry, imitated their generous example a few days after.

Pichegru had three different opportunities of escaping. At Blois he received a note in the following terms: "General, it is in your power to quit the prison where you are confined; a horse is ready for you to mount, and you may escape by assuming another name, in which a passport shall be provided: if you accept the proposal, approach the guard as soon as you have read this note, and wear your hat as a mark of your acquiescence; in that case be dressed and awake at two o'clock in the morning." Pichegru, however, approached the guard without his hat; the person who would have saved him, beheld him with admiration, and went his way.

Madame Barbé-Marbois came from Metz, as far as Blois, where, after a very long journey, she obtained permission to see her husband. She found the deported persons in the most deplorable condition, and devoted all her care to procure some alleviations for their miseries. On her arrival at Paris, she threw herself at the feet of the tyrants, and burst into tears. They promised  
every

every thing she asked, and Merlin assured her he would send a courier with fresh orders. Yet no change was made in those already given, and the deported persons continued their route overwhelmed with the most ignominious treatment.

When Madame Barbé-Marbois left the prison of Blois, an officer of gendarmerie offered her his hand, upon which General Du Tertre, commandant of the escort, ordered this worthy and feeling officer under arrest, and a few days after cashiered him.

This Du Tertre, who had but recently been liberated from the galleys, had been appointed by Augereau to take charge of his victims. This man pocketted the money entrusted to him for their travelling expenses, and plundered them in the most shameless manner. Two months previous to its fall the old Directory seemed to recollect this robbery. Du Tertre was arrested, and ordered to give an account of the monies he had received, but he only replied by *Jacobitish* declamation; and Augereau having made an application in his behalf, he was liberated after a fortnight's imprisonment.

Rovère's wife, then in the eighth month of her pregnancy, followed her husband to Rochefort, where



where she unfortunately arrived too late, the corvette having already sailed. This excellent woman, in even her delicate situation, afforded a rare example of conjugal tenderness. O you, that might incline to judge too severely of her conduct, hearken to the voice of candour, and suspend the severity of your decisions. Madame Rovère, it is true, was formerly divorced—but had you been witnesses of her dauntless fortitude and affectionate attachment, you would forget her errors, and convert your censure into admiration. Men of generosity and worth! women of sensibility and virtue! ye whose bosoms heave with the sacred impulses of nature, and swell with the reciprocities of affection, ah! if ye have experienced the delights or the torments of love, if his resistless fire ever melted your souls, come and weep over the fate of this hapless lover! 'Tis you alone I address—let those who are dead to sensibility, be deaf also to my pleading.

Rovère's wife, as I have already said, arrived at Rochefort when the corvette had just sailed. She now wildly beheld that ocean which divided her from the only object of her love.—She could no longer contemplate his cherished features, nor hang upon his accustomed voice. For a moment  
1
her

her fancy seemed to perceive the vessel that bore him from her view, and her soul seemed ready to start forth and take its flight to mingle with that of her beloved husband.

Two months passed on without receiving any news from him: this was a dreadful interval of anxiety and of horror! In vain did she, together with her unfortunate companions, implore the pity and compassion of the tyrants, for information whither they had sent him. Tyrants are inaccessible to those tender feelings.

At length, however, a letter from her husband arrived, and she learnt that Cayenne was the country that held him. Instantly the deserts of Sinamary assumed the smiling charms of nature's richest scenery, and at Sinamary she determined to fix her abode, and participate in his fate.—Deaf to every motive that dissuaded her from so bold an enterprise, her only happiness was beyond the seas; and the wilds of Guiana seemed to her more desirable than the possession of the universe. Her unexampled courage seemed to nerve the minds of every one around her; her female attendants, the nurse that fostered her child, her aged footman, no one would consent to desert her. At length she yielded to their entreaties, and they all sailed for Guiana. The vessel in which they sailed

was taken by the English—but the English respected her misfortunes. The motives of her voyage being explained, instead of treating her as an enemy, they generously offered her the best and surest means of arriving at the place of her destination.—Thus once more she embarked with a serene sky and a tranquil sea, and all things seemed to whisper that every peril was at an end. But the Almighty, who looks down from the heavens above, and accepts the repentance and remorse of his creatures here below, yet extends not impunity beyond the bounds of justice and mercy. Rovère was now in momentary expectation again to embrace his beloved wife, again to press his children to his bosom in Transatlantic exile, and thus all his suffering seemed to be brought to a close. But he had been guilty of too many crimes to be thus rewarded. The pardon, for which he breathed forth the sigh of repentance from the bottom of his heart, demanded a striking atonement. The gates of Eternity were about to be opened to him, and it was necessary he should first meet some exemplary punishment for his crimes. His wife arrived, and Rovère, knowing she would land on the shores of Cayenne, went eagerly to meet her, and throw himself into her arms: but the

Divine

Divine justice was heavy upon his head ; the hand of God struck him, and he ceased to exist.

On the arrival of the deported persons at Rochefort, they were immediately embarked. In vain did they solicit a few hours delay to receive the necessaries their friends were bringing them. Their jailors were inflexible ; and they set sail without the most requisite accommodations. An hour or two after their departure, the son of Laffond-Ladébat and the brother-in-law of De la Rue (Neuville) arrived. The corvette had already made considerable way, and was no longer in sight. The two youths were now quite inconsolable ; and even the sailors of Rochefort were so much affected as to weep at their misfortunes. They flattered them, however, that a ray of hope still remained. " The sea is very rough," said they ; " the wind is contrary for the corvette, and she must cast anchor at a certain distance from the shore. You may therefore still have an opportunity of boarding her." This proposal was instantly seized with avidity. But a new obstacle now presented itself : they could not board the corvette without a permit from the Director of the Marine, who was then at Rochelle.

Without further loss of time, however, one of



the youths repaired thither, and solicited a permit ; but was answered, that the deported had already got out to sea, and that they had certainly not brought to. Upon this he applied to the sailors, who consulted the weather with the same friendly wishes with those of Rochefort, and concurred in the same opinion. The Director of the Marine, therefore, no longer refused, and the permit was granted.

Neuville now returned to Rochefort ; and, together with young Ladébat, was eager to embark. But a cruel fatality still pursued them : for the sea was extremely rough, and the danger seemed very great. In vain did the sailors endeavour to dissuade them : they persisted in their object ; till at length a boatman, influenced by the love of gain and the earnestness of their entreaties, took them on board his little bark. At their departure, a great number of persons crowded round them ; one to send fifty louis d'ors to Willot, another to convey a rouleau to Pichegru, and a third (making no distinction of persons) to alleviate the fate of all the deported. All kinds of aids were offered them ; but their boat would scarcely contain what was absolutely necessary. At length it left the shore, watched by the eyes of the beholders with the most lively interest, while

while hope seemed to waft the two friends on the waves. At length they perceived the corvette, and their hearts rebounded with joy. But when they got within hail they were ordered not to approach. Upon this, though they were forced to lie down in the boat, to avoid the waves that broke over them, they rose, and held up a paper, to show they had a permit to board the corvette. To that signal however they only received this cruel answer: "*If you approach the corvette I will fire on you. Come on board of me.*" The voice proceeded from the lugger that accompanied the corvette. They went on board; and, having delivered their money and other presents, they were ordered to go back. In vain did Laffond-Ladébat, who from the cockpit heard his son's voice, solicit permission to see him, and press him to his bosom. In vain did the affectionate youth beg upon his knees to see his father. In vain did he exclaim, "Let me at least receive his blessing." He was coldly answered in these words: "*Return to Rochefort.*"—The poor sailor who conducted them made for land, his eyes overflowing with tears; while the two youths, still fixing theirs upon the corvette, sought to meet those of an affectionate father, a virtuous friend.

In the mean while, the deported flattered themselves

selves with hopes of a speedy return to their native country; and one of them wrote the following lines during the passage, addressed to the hoary-headed General Murinais, whose health was already considerably impaired :

AIR.—*Femmes, voulez-vous éprouver.*

Malgré nos cruels ennemis,  
 Nous reverrons un jour la France ;  
 Pour vos parens, pour vos amis,  
 Conservez bien votre existence.  
 Ah ! puissent nos soins assidus  
 Long-tems prolonger votre vie !  
 Vous devez encore vos vertus  
 Et vos talens à la patrie.

IMITATED.

In spite of cruel-hearted foes,  
 Again our homes shall glad our fight ;  
 Thy friends', thy kindred's deep-felt woes,  
 To cherish lingering life invite.  
 Ah ! may our tender anxious cares  
 Thy valued days, thy years prolong !  
 Each breeze to thee wafts Gallia's pray'rs,  
 To her thy virtues still belong.

These lines drew tears from the eyes of the worthy General.

The affecting letter which De la Rue wrote to his wife from on board La Vaillante will give some idea of the dreadful situation of the deported on board of the corvette.

*Letter from De la Rue to his Wife.*

“ From the 7th Vendémaire to the  
18th Brumaire, in the Year vii.

“ No, my dearest wife, no banishment, no impassable desert, can separate two souls whose union is formed by love and esteem, and cemented by the most perfect sympathy. Hence my fortitude was equal to bearing all the attacks of adversity, as long as I could indulge a hope of our performing this fatal voyage together. This alone, added to the testimony of a pure conscience, gave me that strength of mind which has astonished even my companions in misfortune. But I confess that, from the moment when our sudden embarkation, which was performed with equal abruptness and ferocity, destroyed this soothing hope which we so fondly cherished, my energy has deserted me; and every moment  
“ that



" that increases the distance between us, is an  
 " additional affliction. Would that every day's  
 " reckoning of our log-book were an equal ad-  
 " vance towards the tomb ! for there alone can I  
 " find repose, or a period to the sufferings I en-  
 " dure. Two days it seemed to be yawning be-  
 " neath my feet. Ah ! why did it close without  
 " swallowing me up ? The elements, rebelling  
 " against the commands of the tyrants, have thrice  
 " brought us back within sight of port ; thrice  
 " have they, by the most dreadful storms, made  
 " our captain repent of his rashness in braving the  
 " equinoctial hurricanes ; and it is to this obstinate  
 " resistance to his will that I am indebted for the  
 " receipt of your letter. How grateful am I to your  
 " brother for his zeal in bringing it to me ! Wor-  
 " thy Neuville ! he has braved a thousand dan-  
 " gers to communicate the last consolations of  
 " friendship. Among the objects for which I am  
 " indebted to his activity, although all are objects  
 " of the most urgent necessity, I only looked for,  
 " I only beheld, I only eagerly inquired for,  
 " your letter. It was the tardy reward of three  
 " days of solicitation and of despair. A barbarous  
 " order deprived us of every thing that was brought  
 " for our consolation or relief, until, having got  
 " out

" out to open sea, we had no means of communi-  
 " cation with the shore. We were in the latitude  
 " of the coast of Spain when I obtained this letter,  
 " for which I so eagerly panted. To that boon I  
 " sacrificed every other object; nor indeed was it  
 " possible to pay for it sufficiently dear. The  
 " captain chose to retain possession of all the rest  
 " till we should arrive.

" How many times have I not read over and  
 " over this kind, this affecting letter! With how  
 " many tears have I not bathed it! Yes, all my  
 " unfortunate companions bathed it too in theirs.  
 " Every day, every hour, and every minute, I recur  
 " to it for consolation; yet I fear only to find in  
 " it new cause of grief and of regret. The greater  
 " the tenderness and energy with which it pour-  
 " trays your sensibility and attachment, the greater,  
 " the more elevated your mind appears, the less  
 " am I able to bear the horrors of a separation.

" You cannot form to yourself an idea of all we  
 " suffer in every possible way, and especially in  
 " regard to food and lodging. Crowded, all fix-  
 " teen of us, into a space eighteen feet by thirteen,  
 " our hammocks are so close to each other, that  
 " when any one of us moves it disturbs and shakes

“ all the rest ; and the lowness of the deck above  
 “ us, which is but four feet high, exposes us to an  
 “ additional torment : for into this cavern, armed  
 “ with beams, against which we knock our heads  
 “ a hundred times a day, no air is admitted, but  
 “ by an aperture two feet square in the upper deck,  
 “ and which serves at once for door and window.  
 “ The only steps are a post with notches two  
 “ inches deep ; and thus are the old and the infirm  
 “ obliged to crawl up and down, at the risk of  
 “ every moment breaking their limbs, if the  
 “ strongest of us did not frequently receive them  
 “ in our arms, and give them continual assistance.  
 “ Fortunately, our tyrants are not strictly obeyed.  
 “ It was their intention that we should not quit  
 “ this mephitic cavern for more than two hours  
 “ per day, and they hoped to crowd us into it to  
 “ the number of thirty-six. The whole crew ex-  
 “ pected that number ; for it had been so an-  
 “ nounced some days previous to our departure  
 “ from Paris. This outrage had therefore been  
 “ long before resolved on, and its perpetrators had  
 “ calculated on a greater number of victims.  
 “ Had their intentions been completed, the plague  
 “ would certainly have broken out in our dun-  
 “ geon,

• geon, which will doubtless become a burning  
 “ furnace whenever we arrive within the tropic.

“ Our manner of living is, if possible, accom-  
 “ panied with still more atrocious barbarities; not  
 “ satisfied with putting us on the allowance of  
 “ galley convicts, the crew were suffered to want  
 “ the most indispensable necessaries for a voyage;  
 “ they are kept upon the most unwholesome and  
 “ the most damaged provisions; no oppression of  
 “ this kind has been omitted. Biscuit five years  
 “ old, and rejected by every other ship, is our  
 “ chief food; and beans of the kind usually given  
 “ to horses, half boiled in corrupted water, are  
 “ our most delicate dish. This regimen has, as  
 “ you may easily imagine, much increased the  
 “ evils of sea-sickness, which none of us escaped;  
 “ I am among those who suffered the least, owing  
 “ to the good stock of health I possessed, and to  
 “ my habitual temperance. We should certainly  
 “ have all of us sunk under this accumulation of  
 “ evils (and that was doubtless the secret intention  
 “ of the instructions given), had not the crew,  
 “ and more especially the officers, been moved  
 “ with compassion for our condition; the resigna-  
 “ tion and dignity of our conduct disarmed them,



“ and at length they began to appreciate facts and  
 “ persons more justly, and to discover who were the  
 “ true culprits in the events of which we were the  
 “ victims. From that time we received all the assist-  
 “ ance and alleviation in their power, which, how-  
 “ ever, was unfortunately confined within very  
 “ narrow limits ; destitute themselves of the most  
 “ needful conveniencies, owing to the precipita-  
 “ tion of our departure, their good will towards  
 “ us was very often without effect ; we received,  
 “ however, more assistance from the sailors, who  
 “ in general are better able to endure privations,  
 “ and the majority of whom gave up to us their  
 “ slender stock of provisions. It is true these in-  
 “ dulgences were a considerable charge upon our  
 “ purses, but it would be ungrateful to complain,  
 “ for the services we received from them were  
 “ invaluable. Of these the most important to me  
 “ were a pound of bread per day, and a few glasses  
 “ of wholesome water ; to this, and to a few  
 “ morsels of cheese, against which my natural  
 “ antipathy in vain rebelled, I am indebted for  
 “ the preservation of that life which I reserve to  
 “ contribute to your happiness, and which I still  
 “ value on your account, and on your account  
 “ exclusively.

“ Endeavour

“ Endeavour speedily to let me possess a portrait  
 “ of you, for my eyes are envious of my heart,  
 “ where your image is constantly present ; I do  
 “ not ask for that of our children, as they are so  
 “ young that their features will not long retain  
 “ their present form ; but I hope you will indulge  
 “ me with a ring of the dog’s-collar kind, orna-  
 “ mented with your hair and that of those dear  
 “ little creatures. If you would still enhance the  
 “ favour, you will add a second ring with your  
 “ mother’s hair, together with my father’s and  
 “ mine ; to these presents, which are the most  
 “ invaluable I can receive, you may add some  
 “ pecuniary aid, provided your own occasions,  
 “ those of our children, and of my father and  
 “ mother, which I would see first satisfied, will  
 “ permit. You will pursue the same steps as  
 “ Mesdames Laffond, Rovère, and Aubry, who,  
 “ perhaps, will prefer sending such merchandise as  
 “ may be easily disposed of in the colony ; these I  
 “ will mention to you, if a letter on that subject  
 “ can be sent by the same opportunity, as soon as  
 “ I shall have landed, and seen the nature of the  
 “ country whither we are going.

“ I should never conclude if I gave a loose to  
 “ all the emotions I feel ; now that I am liberated  
 “ from

" from every pursuit of business, my imagination  
 " is ever busied with you alone, and without inter-  
 " mission; but with you every pleasure is departed,  
 " and I am even deprived of that of which scarcely  
 " any victim of misfortune is robbed, and which  
 " from time to time suspends their sufferings, for it  
 " is but by stealth that I can commit my thoughts  
 " and my sorrows to paper; and this letter, which,  
 " notwithstanding the innumerable precautions I  
 " have taken for its security, will, perhaps, never  
 " reach you, is written, as you will easily per-  
 " ceive, at twenty different times; had I pursued  
 " any other method, I should in a single minute  
 " lose the fruits of a month of vigilance.

" Adieu! my charming friend, adieu! with  
 " what pain do I trace the word! perhaps, too,  
 " for the last time I shall ever write it! Ah! let me  
 " banish the heart-rending idea! ah! let not our  
 " correspondence ever cease, except it be by thy  
 " presence in an hospitable country, where, having  
 " escaped the power of the wicked, we may be  
 " again united in the bonds of love. Receive,  
 " as the pledge of this my ardent wish, a thou-  
 " sand imaginary kisses, impress them on the lovely  
 " cheeks of your dear little children, and tenderly  
 " embrace

" embrace for me my sister-in-law and your bro-  
" thers, and express my sincere gratitude to all  
" those who take any interest in my fate. Let our  
" friend often see N. M——, the worthy Dau—,  
" R—— Dal—— Card——, and particularly  
" B—— V——; tell him to remember me to  
" L—— B—— Cl—— A——.

(Signed)

" DE LA RUE."



THE  
SITUATION OF THE DEPORTED AT  
GUIANA.

BY ONE OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS.

**A**MONG the various intellectual improvements that have sprung up with the progress of science and philosophy, the system of criminal legislation ought to have undergone such a reform as would have proved equally beneficial to the interests of the accused and the tranquillity of the public. Of such a reform, the principles have already been laid down by various philosophical writers (and in particular the celebrated Beccaria), who have deduced them from the eternal laws of justice and of reason: all, therefore, that remained to be done, was to apply these principles to practice in the code of criminal justice.

The true object of all punishments is the security of the body politic, and of all its component parts; the maintenance of order and justice, and the improvement of the morals of the people.

Punish-

Punishments should not only be proportioned to the nature of the crimes committed, but must also be previously declared by the law before they can be justly inflicted; nor ought this to take place till after a trial, the prescribed forms of which are calculated to be the guardians of innocence and the avengers of crimes.

These principles, which constitute the very basis of social order, have already been sufficiently demonstrated; and can neither be denied nor forgotten without bursting asunder every bond by which human society is held together.

I will not, therefore, here attempt to pourtray the innumerable instances in which these sacred principles have been violated. Woe to that nation where the laws are dictated by the factions that convulse it, merely according to the dictates of their revenge, or of their own unruly passions! for there will innocence shrink with horror, and the criminal redouble his audacious effrontery.

The deportation to the French territories in Guiana, substituted by the Convention for the penalty of death, which some of their members had incurred, was only applied in the cases of Billaud-Varennés and Collot d'Herbois; the rest of those

who were then accused escaped this new mode of punishment, and eluded the decree by which it was enacted.

As the Convention united in itself all the power of the state, it pursued no other rule than its own sovereign will, and pronounced sentence of banishment, destruction, or death, according to the passions which for the time predominated at their deliberations. Billaud, Collot, and the rest of the persons who were implicated, were accused and were heard in their defence; yet they themselves protested against this violation of the power with which they, in common with their colleagues, were invested.

Collot and Billaud were deported to Guiana; Collot died at Cayenne, but Billaud-Varennes is still living. Both these men were treated with great severity during their passage, and their captain was not more humane towards them than was Captain La Porte towards us; but on their arrival at Guiana they enjoyed, the former till his death, and the latter to the present time, the same fare as is given to the marines, and an allowance fully adequate to their wants; further, no restraint was required of them, and an order of the Directory

particu-

particularly enjoined their agents and the constituted authorities in no wise to infringe on their full liberty within the French territories in Guiana\*.

At first sight, the substitution of deportation for death, appears an act of beneficence; their lives are saved, and consequently some hopes remain of seeing better days; they may apply to various useful occupations, and thus they may still endeavour to advance their own fortunes and those of their country. Such are the colours under which deportation to Guiana has been represented to the nation, both at the tribune of the Legislative Body, and in the proclamations and orders of the Directory.

But it is time these unsubstantial illusions should be dissipated; first, by a few general observations, and secondly, by a simple statement of the actual situation of the deported in this distant colony.

When men of vigorous minds and constitutions, and in the flower of life, have committed such crimes as are deserving of capital punishment, deportation is doubtless an act of clemency; but then they ought not to be sent to a colony established

\* Extract of an order of the Directory of the 24th Brumaire, in the year 4.—“ Art. III. The agents of the government are expressly enjoined to permit the Ex-deputies Collot d’Herbois and Billaud to enjoy full liberty in Guiana.”



for purposes of agriculture and commerce, since they might disturb the tranquillity of the planters with so much the more ease, as the repressing power is less active there than in the mother-country; hence, too, they might the more easily disperse abroad the seeds of their own vices and crimes. In this point of view, the deportation of criminals to a colony already in existence, is a violation of the guaranty which is due from the body politic to its foreign planters, as well as to all its other constituent parts: thus the system of deportation might more especially have produced most disastrous consequences to those colonies, where the laborious classes have been lately emancipated; where the first enjoyment of liberty, as represented to, and experienced by them, consists merely in licentiousness, in the desertion of their labours and duties, and in giving an unbounded loose to passions; to colonies whose defective system of legislation, incessantly changing and incoherent, and either impossible to be executed, or not actually enforced, has as yet scarcely exceeded a few ineffectual regulations of police, wholly insufficient to re-establish the regular pursuits of labour, or to accomplish the repression and punishment of crimes.

Such

Such is the situation of the French colony in Guiana, notwithstanding the delusive representations with which the Legislative Body have been amused.

Further, deportation to a country whose climate is destructive to its inhabitants, is but a mode of sentencing the unfortunate victims to a lingering and painful death, and to a tedious prolongation of the struggles of dissolution: thus cruelly to multiply the pangs of dying, is, in fact, no other than to condemn them to a thousand deaths.

Criminals, then, who are condemned by the law, ought to be deported only to a colony appropriated solely to that object, in a climate not destructive to its inhabitants, and where severe but just laws will induce them to adopt a life of industry, and to reform their characters. Punishment and terror are the vital principles of tyranny\*. But the prevention and the correction of crimes, and the rendering even the criminal useful to his country—this alone should be the end proposed in a criminal system of jurisprudence, under a Government instituted by justice and formed by wisdom.

\* See on this subject the Report of Bailleul, on the 18th Fructidor.

In such a colony every institution ought to be directed to the correction of the criminals themselves. Specific rewards should be held out to them, not even excepting liberty to return home after a certain period of good behaviour and of useful industry.

Such were the views of the British Legislature in establishing the colony of Botany Bay.

But to deport the members of the National Representation without sentence, trial, or accusation; to deport Priests, and old and infirm men, merely on account of their religious opinions; to deport men of letters and journalists, when the liberty of the press and of public censure ought to have been the pledge of their inviolable security; to deport men whom no existing law condemned, and to deport them to a colony where the atmosphere is corrupted by a stagnant and defective cultivation, where none but blacks can endure the slightest labour and fatigue, and even to place them in the most unhealthy spot of that colony, and confound them with criminals actually condemned to death or to the galleys, is at once to violate the constitution, the liberty which forms its basis, and every principle

principle of social order, of humanity, and of justice.

Such, however, was the character and effect of the law of the 19th Fructidor, and of the orders given for putting it in force, whether by the Directory and their ministers, or by their agent in the French colony of Guiana.

Sixteen of the persons proscribed by that law, were, on the 21st Fructidor, put into cages constructed of gratings, and thus conveyed from the prison of the Temple to the port of Rochefort, traversing France as though they had been the vilest of criminals. The commandant of the escort received the requisite supplies of money for their support and other expenses on the road ; but to entrust so delicate a commission to a base and immoral character, to place these funds in the hands of a man recently liberated from the galleys of Toulon, was effectually to preclude all possibility of the money being applied to the sacred purpose for which it was destined ; it was, in fact, to order that the deported should be left destitute of every requisite comfort and accommodation. This order, alas ! was most cruelly put in force : for in every town we were thrust into  
the



the darkest dungeon, and fed on the coarsest of food.

At length, crowded one upon another, in the between-decks of a corvette, we had no other food, during a most dreadful voyage of fifty-two days, than the refuse biscuit of the convicts on board the Rochefort galleys, some spoiled meal, wild beans (called Gourgannes), and stinking water. But to every complaint the Captain replied, "*If I execute the orders I have received, those villains will not all of them arrive at Guiana.*"

At length we landed at Cayenne, almost all of us sick. Here we expected to enjoy our full liberty; but in this we were disappointed. We were sent to the hospital, and placed under a guard of soldiers, without being permitted to go out, except into an adjoining field; nor were we allowed to receive any visitors. We obtained, however, all the accommodations which the kind-hearted women who superintended the establishment could procure us; and the inhabitants were eager to give us the most affecting proofs of the concern they felt for our misfortunes. These few days were to us an interval of the sweetest consolation.

We

We were soon informed, however, by Jeannet, the Agent of the Directory, that he was about to send us to Sinamary, a settlement situated about twenty-five leagues to the north-westward of Cayenne, on the river of Sinamary, and something less than a league from the sea.

The order for this second transportation was not sent to us, nor was it till after our arrival at Sinamary that it was communicated to us. (See Appendix, No. 1.)

We were told that Sinamary was the healthiest spot in the colony. But previous to our departure, Laffond-Ladébat, and Tronçon-du Coudray, wrote to the Agent, representing that the law of the 19th Fructidor, and even the order of the Directory, appointing that we should be deported to Guiana, did not direct that we should be kept prisoners there, and that therefore they had a right to their full liberty. They might also have appealed to the order in favour of Billaud and of Collot; but their feelings, and the purity of their own conduct, compelled them to reject all comparison of themselves with those too famous members of the Committee of Public Safety. Laffond-Ladébat's letter was couched in the following terms:

"We

“ We have been informed that it is your inten-  
 “ tion to fix our abode at Sinamary. Were our  
 “ existence alone to be considered, we should have  
 “ cause to thank you for this choice; but, as to  
 “ myself, I think it my duty to offer you a few ob-  
 “ servations.

“ The decree which condemns us to deportation,  
 “ allows us, as I have already observed, the free  
 “ disposal of our property from the time of our ar-  
 “ rival at the place of our deportation. But this  
 “ permission would be a mere mockery, if we are  
 “ to be so situated that it would be impossible to  
 “ exercise it. I am ignorant what orders you may  
 “ have received, but I have reason to believe  
 “ Guiana is spoken of generally, and therefore our  
 “ particular abode ought to depend on the kind of  
 “ industry we may be desirous of pursuing.

“ I will not here state how little connected, or,  
 “ rather, how totally disconnected we shall be.  
 “ The contrariety of our opinions has already been  
 “ sufficiently apparent: you have been informed  
 “ of it by the public prints. Time will throw more  
 “ light on that system of policy which has con-  
 “ founded us together. Equals in misfortune, we  
 “ have all an equal right to that liberty which  
 “ the law has given us, as soon as we are arrived

“ at

“ at the place of our deportation ; but nothing  
 “ can justify our being here united, except the  
 “ species of industry we are desirous of under-  
 “ taking.

“ To me, for instance, who have it in my  
 “ power, through my commercial connexions, to  
 “ be serviceable to the colony, it is important to  
 “ be situated in the only port where foreign trade  
 “ can be carried on : and this is the plan I have  
 “ formed. Marbois, Murinais, Tronçon-du-  
 “ Coudray, Barthélemy, and myself, had even,  
 “ previous to our quitting France, determined on  
 “ a project of a partnership, in which we intended  
 “ to have included the cultivation of some planta-  
 “ tion of which we meant to apply for a grant or a  
 “ lease upon rent.

“ Such having been our intentions, Citizen  
 “ Agent, it is highly probable those of our friends,  
 “ who are apprized of them, may already have ex-  
 “ pedited us some consignments.

“ But our banishment to Sinamary condemns us  
 “ to a real imprisonment, frustrates all our plans,  
 “ and reduces us to the wretched condition of  
 “ being unable to pursue any useful species of in-  
 “ dustry.



“ At first I heard of a plantation belonging to  
 “ the State, and situated near the town, which  
 “ seemed completely adapted to our views. I  
 “ would have taken a lease of it upon rent, and  
 “ engaged to keep it in good condition; and we  
 “ would, all of us, have eagerly subscribed any  
 “ engagements your vigilance might have deemed  
 “ necessary. This vigilance, I imagine, would  
 “ itself be thereby rendered more easy and secure,  
 “ and the nature of our pursuits would be a suf-  
 “ ficient pledge for our good conduct, if the wel-  
 “ fare of our families, and the free enjoyment of  
 “ our property, are not alone completely satisfactory.  
 “ It is the interest of the State that the deported  
 “ persons be not a useless burden upon the colony,  
 “ but, on the contrary, that they should give ad-  
 “ ditional vigour and activity, both to its com-  
 “ merce and agriculture, by all the means they  
 “ can combine together for that effect. I would  
 “ also add, that the situation of Sinamary is not  
 “ free from danger, both to us and to yourself, as  
 “ far as regards your responsibility, since it is liable  
 “ to be attacked by English privateers, and some  
 “ attempts of that nature have already been  
 “ actually made.

“ I hope,

"I hope, therefore, Citizen Agent, that you  
 "will seriously weigh these observations. I con-  
 "sider my banishment to Sinamary as a new ca-  
 "lamity, since it condemns me to a state of  
 "perfect uselessness, and my declining health  
 "will unavoidably be extremely increased by  
 "another sea voyage."

The Agent, however, declared with the most  
 positive assurances, that he had orders from the  
 Government to send the deported persons to Sina-  
 mary. Notwithstanding the representations and  
 earnest entreaties of Murinais, who seemed to have  
 a presentiment of his melancholy fate, all the de-  
 ported persons, except La Vilheurnois, who was  
 unable to move a limb, were transported to Sina-  
 mary, where they arrived on the 6th Frimaire.

The district of Sinamary is in a state of total  
 ruin. About a score of plantations, formerly situ-  
 ated on the banks of the river of the same name,  
 are now entirely abandoned. The settlement, or  
 town, is situated in the skirts of an uncultivated  
 savanna, which lies to windward of it, and from  
 which it is frequently infected with deleterious  
 exhalations, arising from the stagnant waters in the  
 hollows called *pris-pris*; the accumulations of mud  
 on the N. N. E. coast, add to the unwholesome-

ness of the climate, especially in the months of July, August, September, and October, during which the heat of the sun is most powerful. At that season there is no rain; but the breezes, which are regular, moderate the heat, and would render the climate supportable if they were not the vehicle of exhalations arising from the shallows, and from the mud accumulated by the sea. At the time when the inhabitants had the requisite resources, and a sufficient number of labourers, they used to burn the *pris-pris* while the waters were out, and thus prevented them from sending forth mephitic exhalations. But during the three or four last years they have been unable to pursue this method; and to this cause must be chiefly attributed the impurity of the atmosphere. A few houses, or rather huts, consisting only of a ground floor, which are extremely damp during the long and rainy season, and are throughout the year full of vermin, scorpions, snakes, and innumerable voracious insects, are the only dwellings that compose the town.

Here all our hopes were at once most cruelly destroyed; for we now discovered that we had been purposely deceived in the most cruel and glaring manner. Laffond-Ladébat again wrote to the Agent to the following effect.

*Letter*

*Letter from Laffond-Ladébat to Jeannet, Agent of  
the French Government at Cayenne.*

“ At the time when I addressed to you some  
“ observations relative to our banishment to Sina-  
“ mary, to which I received no answer, I was far  
“ from conceiving that settlement to be in so  
“ ruinous a state. All the inhabitants are sinking  
“ in despair, nor can they even cultivate the neces-  
“ sary food to keep them from starving; their plant-  
“ ations are abandoned, their farm-yards almost  
“ entirely destroyed, and the unwholesomeness of  
“ the air daily increases to a most alarming degree.  
“ I consider it as impossible we can long exist in  
“ this spot; if the government have ordered that  
“ we should be placed here, we *must expect from*  
“ *time and from eternal justice, that judgment which*  
“ *the whole nation will form relative to their motives.*

“ But if (though I am far from believing it) you  
“ have of your own authority fixed this place for  
“ our abode, I shall not hesitate to tell you,  
“ Citizen Agent, *that you are the man our families*  
“ *will accuse of causing the death of those among us,*  
“ *who will infallibly become your victims.*”

We were all of us lodged in the old Presbytery,  
where we were crowded together to the number of  
five in a room, which obliged some of us to seek  
for



for lodgings elsewhere. Nor was our residence at Sinamary more than a mere temporary or provisory arrangement. We were to be changed about to the different parts of the colony till a spot was found which would most rapidly hasten our destruction, and send us in the shortest space of time to the tomb. An engineer was ordered to seek out a spot, which would most completely unite all these *advantages*; and it was from the report of this engineer that the Directory at length fixed upon the settlement of Conanama for our residence. We shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of this grave of the human race.

It is asserted in France, that the persons first deported had a space of twenty leagues on all sides, in the neighbourhood of Sinamary, which they were free to traverse. The Agent's order allowed them to go on one side to Kourou, and on the other to Iracombo. This liberty, however, was rendered nugatory by an obligation imposed on them to appear every five days before the commandant of Sinamary.

Though the victims of calamity should naturally be united by their misfortunes, yet, by some cruel fatality, misfortunes generally produce a contrary effect. The deported had not long resided at  
Sinamary

Sinamary before divisions sprang up among them. One party reproached their colleagues with too much vehemence in the Senate, while the latter accused the former of having ruined their country by their apathy and lukewarmness.

Murinais and Laffond-Ladébat endeavoured to reconcile these differences; but Ramel, and Tronçon-du-Coudray, were constantly broaching contrary principles to those of Willot, De la Rue, Pichegru, and Aubry; while Barbé-Marbois, and Barthélemy, remained almost neutral. In general, however, Barthélemy inclined towards Willot's party, and Barbé-Marbois to that of Du Coudray. Rovère spoke but little, and seemed absorbed in melancholy reflections. La Vilheurnois bore his misfortunes with magnanimity, but was most intimate with Barthélemy and De la Rue. Bourdon de l'Oise quarrelled with every one, as well as with his own conscience. Brothier maintained but little intimacy with La Vilheurnois, who had formerly been his friend; but he was incessantly disputing with Ramel, and reminded him of his having participated in the denunciations of Malo. At this Ramel was extremely irritated, and replied with great asperity. One day, as he was reproaching Brothier with his connexion with Billaud-Varennés,

Brothier hastily replied, that there was no good reason why he should not associate with Billaud, since he was compelled to live with his denouncer\*. Brothier, however, would have acted more wisely, had he consented to forget the past, and considered Ramel merely as his companion in misfortune. The Abbé Brothier, however, was entirely engrossed with his mathematical studies, and intended, whenever he should return to France, to publish an elementary work on that branch of science.

The worthy Le Tellier, of whom we have hitherto been silent, divided his attention between his master and the most aged of his deported companions, or, rather, he offered his services indiscriminately to them all. Doffonville contradicted no one; and those of the deported who escaped, owed their good fortune, in a great measure, to the good intelligence he kept up. Barbé-Marbois, Ladébat, De la Rue, Tronçon-du-Coudray, and Barthélemy, employed their minds chiefly in political studies. La Vilheurnois was continually reading or walking; and General Pichegru amused

\* It was doubtless to this private enmity that Brothier was indebted for the injustice with which Adjutant-general Ramel treats him in his "*Narrative*." Ramel might indeed complain of his enemy; but he had no right to calumniate him by affecting to class him with Billaud-Varennès. *French Editor.*

himself

himself in learning English, an employment in which he seemed to take great pleasure.

We were not long without experiencing the fatal effects of the climate we inhabited.

Murinais had arrived there in a most deplorable state, and in this dreadful situation his illness could not fail to grow worse. He wrote, therefore, to the Agent the following letter :

*Letter from Murinais to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.*

“ Arrested by an arbitrary authority, in violation  
 “ of the constitutional laws, and of the rights of  
 “ man, and notwithstanding the inviolability of my  
 “ person as a representative of the people, I have  
 “ been included in a law of the 19th Fructidor,  
 “ ordering the deportation of fifty-two deputies,  
 “ unheard, without the Legislative Body pronoun-  
 “ cing Aye or No, agreeably to the forms prescribed  
 “ in the Constitution on the validity of their accu-  
 “ sations. Against such a deportation I, for my  
 “ own part, now remonstrate, and shall never cease  
 “ to protest.

“ Shut up in a cage of iron, and dragged by an  
 “ armed force to Rochefort, I was thrust between  
 “ the decks of a corvette, and fed, like a galley  
 “ convict,



“ convict, with the worst of provisions, such as  
 “ excited the indignation of the whole crew.

“ I did not imagine, that on my arrival at Cay-  
 “ enne, my lot would be still further aggra-  
 “ vated by prolonging my confinement, and pro-  
 “ nouncing a new sentence of deportation against  
 “ me. But it appears I am provisorily deported to  
 “ Sinamary, a settlement consisting only of about  
 “ a score of families, who are continually struggling  
 “ with misery in a burning and destructive cli-  
 “ mate.

“ To such a spot have you deported sixteen  
 “ citizens of France, fourteen of whom have  
 “ neither been accused, tried, nor heard in their  
 “ defence, and whose lives must necessarily be  
 “ shortened by the innumerable privations and in-  
 “ conveniences to which you subject them.

“ At my age and in the circumstances in which  
 “ I am placed, no man would be much afraid of  
 “ his approaching end, nay, I consider its arrival as  
 “ a desirable relief. But it is a duty I owe to my-  
 “ self and to the dignity of a representative, to  
 “ apprise you, for the prevention of all superfluous  
 “ expense, that I cannot accept any grant of land  
 “ that may, in any respect whatever, be considered  
 “ as an indemnity or a compensation for the loss of  
 “ my liberty. Until my situation shall depend  
 “ on

" on my own free and voluntary choice, I will re-  
 " main in the state of captivity in which criminals  
 " have placed me, expecting from the hands of  
 " justice, and the testimony of an irreproachable  
 " life of sixty-seven years, a change of my unhappy  
 " lot, which it depends on yourself alone (by con-  
 " sulting your laws) to alleviate.

" Should I meet my fate in this distant spot, it  
 " will be for you for ever to reproach yourself with  
 " having, by unnecessarily increasing the weight of  
 " my misfortunes, shortened the life of a man of  
 " probity, who might still have hoped long to  
 " contribute to the good and happiness of his  
 " country."

This letter obtained no answer, and the venera-  
 ble Murinais expired a fortnight after he wrote it.  
 As soon as the news of his death arrived at Cayenne,  
 an ante-dated order was sent for his removal. Had it  
 been dispatched on the receipt of his request, Murinais  
 would still have been in a situation to have gone to  
 the hospital. Thus did this worthy old man, who  
 had devoted fifty years of his life to the service of  
 his country, who had been torn from his family, and  
 from the legislative body, untried, unheard, and  
 in violation of the sacred office he filled, become  
 the first victim of the passions that dictated the law  
 of

of the 19th Fructidor. He died with the greatest firmness, and with that tranquillity which naturally attends on virtue. As we crowded round his bed, he frequently repeated the following remarkable sentence: “ *'Tis better to die at Sinamary free from*  
*“ reproach, than to live in guilt at Paris.”* ”

Some days after this melancholy separation, Barthélemy, whose legs were very much swelled, obtained liberty to go to the hospital of Cayenne in the place of La Vilheurnois, who had scarcely recovered from his illness before he was obliged to come to Sinamary.

At Cayenne Barthélemy was tolerably well treated, being attended by the worthy sisters of the charity, whose humanity never relaxed. From that place he wrote the following letter to one of his friends in France.

*Letter from Barthélemy to a Friend in France.*

“ You are already acquainted with the manner  
 “ in which we were conveyed across France in  
 “ cages of iron, lying at night sometimes in prisons  
 “ and sometimes in dungeons. Our sea voyage  
 “ corresponded with our journey by land.

“ Crowded together in the between-decks, which  
 “ was guarded night and day by two soldiers with  
 “ drawn sabres, we were fed like the sailors with

“ salt

“ salt provisions, gourgannes (beans), and some  
 “ biscuit, that was so bad and decayed, that it is  
 “ astonishing any one should offer it to the sailors.

“ We all bore this dreadful voyage tolerably  
 “ well, though constantly treated as criminals;  
 “ the instructions containing an order that we  
 “ should not speak with any one of the crew.

“ After a voyage of fifty-two days we arrived here,  
 “ and landed at the hospital, where, as far as regards  
 “ our food, we have been well treated, but never ceased  
 “ to be under a guard of soldiers: we were not per-  
 “ mitted to go out, except for an hour, morning  
 “ and evening, into a field adjoining the walls of  
 “ the hospital, and we were scarcely allowed to re-  
 “ ceive any visitors.

“ We fondly imagined, that on our arrival at the  
 “ place of our deportation our persons at least would  
 “ be free; but in this we were deceived.

“ A fortnight after we were conveyed by sea to  
 “ Sinamary, a miserable and unwholesome district,  
 “ situated twenty-five leagues from Cayenne,  
 “ where there is a dearth of all kinds of provisions.

“ We are lodged there in a building which was  
 “ once the Presbytery, consisting of five small  
 “ rooms, into which we are distributed. We are  
 “ surrounded by serpents, snakes, innumerable  
 “ voracious



“ voracious vermin of various sizes, with which  
 “ this country swarms; and the tigers are also our  
 “ very near neighbours.

“ A space of ground is allotted for us to walk  
 “ in; but sometimes the extreme heat, sometimes  
 “ the rains, and at all times the innumerable insects  
 “ that fill the air, render our walks extremely trou-  
 “ blefome. Here also we are under a guard of  
 “ soldiers.

“ This place is inhabited by above fifty persons,  
 “ who are all ill with fevers. No one, except Bil-  
 “ laud-Varennés, who also resides here, enjoys  
 “ good health. Besides the allowance he receives  
 “ in common with ourselves, the government give  
 “ him 1800 livres tournois per annum, and the  
 “ rent of his cottage; and Victor Hugues fends  
 “ him from Guadaloupe various provisions to the  
 “ value of fix thousand livres per annum.

“ The allowance we receive from the govern-  
 “ ment confifts of half a pound of bread and  
 “ three quarters of a pound of bad rice per day.  
 “ It is impossible to procure any butcher’s meat.

“ I can but feebly pourtray the horror of our  
 “ fituation. Murinais fank under it at the end of  
 “ Brumaire. Every one of us is more or lefs in-  
 “ difpofed.

“ There

“ There is a surgeon appointed for the military  
 “ establishment; but you will easily conceive an  
 “ idea of the medical knowledge of a surgeon sta-  
 “ tioned in so wretched a spot.

“ A serious illness has procured me permission  
 “ to come to this hospital, which is somewhat less  
 “ damp and less unwholesome than Sinamary,  
 “ whither I dread the thoughts of returning.

“ We hoped some alleviation of our lot might  
 “ arrive from France; but we have only learnt  
 “ that a great number of deported persons are  
 “ about to be sent hither, which will render our  
 “ situation still more cruel. We have now no-  
 “ thing to expect, but to perish by slow and pain-  
 “ ful degrees in this torrid zone, which renders  
 “ Guiana the grave of the Europeans who come  
 “ hither, notwithstanding the delusive pictures  
 “ that have been drawn of the country by French  
 “ writers.”

Barthélemy had great reason to dread being sent  
 back to Sinamary; for he had no sooner shown  
 some signs of convalescence, than Jeannet ordered  
 an armed force to convey him thither.

At this time, Tronçon-du-Coudray having symp-  
 toms of a very dangerous illness, the surgeon of

Sinamary certified that he could not be properly treated there, and that it was indispensably necessary to remove him to Cayenne. Tronçon therefore wrote to the Agent, soliciting permission to go there.

*Letter from Tronçon-du-Coudray to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.*

“ It is to yourself that I choose to apply ; for it  
 “ is impossible that, when you are informed of my  
 “ situation, you should refuse me permission to come  
 “ to Cayenne. *A refusal would render my case desperate, and would be my death-warrant.* In this  
 “ place none of the articles requisite for so complicated a disorder as mine are to be had ; and the  
 “ badness and humidity of the air prevent the remedies from taking effect. It is not a privilege  
 “ I am asking. Every man so situated would have  
 “ a right to demand his removal to Cayenne.  
 “ Nor is it to you, Citizen Agent, that I need ob-  
 “ serve, that here humanity has her laws. *Power*  
 “ *will pass away, but good actions remain.*”

To this letter the Agent gave no answer ; but sent off a physician to Sinamary without any means  
 of

of cure. In addition to his other complaints, Tronçon laboured under a putrid and malignant fever, which attacked him in the beginning of Floréal; and on the same day Laffond Ladébat fell ill of a violent bilious fever. They were both lodged in one room, nor could they obtain a separate apartment. Thus were their disorders continually and reciprocally increased by the sight of each other's sufferings, and the putrid air they breathed. Tronçon, however, seemed for a short time to be convalescent; but he had afterwards several relapses, and the physician sent from Cayenne certified also that he could not be properly treated at Sinamary. Tronçon therefore again wrote to the Agent as follows:

*Second Letter from Tronçon-du-Coudray to Jeannet,  
Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.*

“ It was not an additional physician I needed,  
 “ but a purer air, and those means of recovery  
 “ which I cannot procure here; such as broth,  
 “ bathing, and attendance; in a word, whatever  
 “ Sinamary cannot furnish. This place is ex-  
 “ tremely damp and marshy; there is a want



“ of every thing, and that want cannot be supplied.

“ By speaking a single word, you can put an end to all these evils. But will that word be spoken? It lies entirely in your own breast; and if you consent I shall be extremely grateful. Will it be refused? That too lies in your own breast. I shall endure it with resignation, although I am *convinced I shall fall a victim to your decision*. I wait your answer with confidence. May it be dictated by humanity!”

His refusal was absolute. The sentence of death was pronounced. Tronçon-du-Coudray expired on the 4th Messidor, with that tranquillity which ever attends an unfullied conscience. His strong attachment to order, justice, and true liberty, the talents he displayed, and the projects he formed, proved that he would one day have rendered the most important services to his country. But, alas! his country has lost him! Du Coudray was the second victim sacrificed in this wild and savage country to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor!

Bourdon de l'Oise died the same day, and almost at the same hour.

Willot,

Willott, Rovère, and Ramel, were successively attacked with various disorders.

It was at this time that Pichegru, Barthélemy, Le Tellier, Willot, De la Rue, Aubry, Ramel, and Doffonville, determined to fly from the fate to which both the climate and Jeannet's refusal seemed to condemn those who remained at Sinamary. Accordingly, they entrusted themselves to a very slender bark, in which they were fortunate enough to escape.

At Sinamary they were, as it were, in the jaws of death, and nothing but a miracle could save them. Marbois and Rovère refused to join them in their flight. Laffond-Ladébat had from the first declared that he would not fly: for he feared the law of confiscation might compromise both the interest of his family and the property of his creditors. To him, therefore, although in a state of convalescence, the project was not communicated.

Thus all the deported members of the Council of Elders remained at Sinamary, waiting in hopes that justice would one day demonstrate the purity of their conduct: for they were resolved not to sacrifice the peace of their families to a few years of existence. This generosity, alas! cost many of them  
their

their lives. Only two of them survived their companions in misfortune; and these also will probably soon fall a sacrifice to that murderous climate, unless they should be rescued from the fangs of death, by changing at least the place of their banishment.

#### DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION  
OF THE  
*PRISONS OF ROCHEFORT.*

BY RICHER-SERISY\*.

Germinal, in the Year vi.

\_\_\_\_\_ **N**O, you have not, like me, beheld that crowd of innocent victims, overwhelmed with mental and bodily sufferings, linked together two by two, heaped together in carts, and daily dragged from all parts of France to Rochefort, to be thence removed to suffer and to die in the impure atmosphere of Cayenne! Transport yourself then for a moment to the dungeons that yawn to receive them.

Imagine to yourself various damp apartments fifty feet square, each of which contains two hundred of these unfortunate beings, whose numbers are daily and hourly increasing. In these dungeons are imprisoned persons of all ages from youth to decrepit old age. Their beds are mattresses of oakum, two feet broad, spread on the ground, without sheets or covering; and even of these the

\* Editor of "L'Accusateur Public," a paper remarkably bold and obnoxious to the Directory.



number not complete in proportion to the number of prisoners, who are obliged to lie three upon a matress. Totally destitute of tables and chairs, the ground is the only place on which to repose their weary limbs, while four enormous tubs, placed at the corners of these apartments, fill the air with pestilential effluvia.

In this horrid scene, innocence is forced to linger. To avoid total suffocation, these unfortunate beings crowd towards the window, to taste the fresh air through the bars that deprive them of their liberty. Yet even this alleviation is not permitted, for the sentinels, stationed at the airing place, fire on those who rashly advance their heads too far. Thus did a murderous ball lately kill an infirm and aged priest, who had passed his sixtieth year!

When the clock strikes eleven, the gates of the prison are opened, and the daily allowance of the prisoners brought in wooden pails by drunken, unfeeling wretches; consisting of sea-biscuit soaked in warm and greasy water, a pound of hard black bread, some cow-beef half dressed and dragged through the dirt, which is cut into as many ounces as there are prisoners. Such is their allowance for a whole day, which is repeated every four-and-twenty

5

hours.

hours. You shudder at my tale! Learn from it the inexhaustible patience, the unparalleled resignation, of the prisoners!

I was present at the arrival of these infected ailments; and saw the Priests throw themselves on their knees to bless and pray over them. This sight is renewed every day at the hour when their religion prescribes this duty. I was a witness to the melancholy confusion of sobs and prayers which every morning and evening, and during the silence of the night, re-echo through these miserable vaults: the sound of bolts and creaking hinges, and the hoarse rough voice of jailers, which at intervals mingled with these noises, filled me with horror. At the same moment I beheld the beauteous violet and the tender bud of spring uniting round the bars in a small garden adjoining to the prison, and the little birds that came to perch beneath the opening leaf to sing the song of liberty and of pleasure, in the presence of men loaded with irons, and overflowing with the tears of wretchedness. This picture of life and of death, of slavery and of liberty, of happiness and of despair, that beneficent Nature, who alike dispenses her boons in the prisons of Rochefort and the groves of the Luxemburg Palace, afforded both

to the heart and the eye the most afflictive of contrasts.

If some of these unfortunate persons sink under their uncommon sufferings, if at the approach of death they implore relief, so long a space of time intervenes before that relief can possibly reach them, or the order is given, that the poor creatures may die a hundred times, while waiting for that which would have saved their lives. The order, however, at length arrives; the physician seems only to be skilled in the art of torturing the soul. This hard-hearted brute, whose severe and meagre countenance resembles the bars of the prison he visits; this monster, who is insensible to pity or to shame, and who has transformed his honourable and beneficent profession into the business of an assassin, and treats the sufferings of the prisoners with insolent and brutal raillery, runs, in two short minutes, through this abode of misery, in the midst of groans, of horror and despair. Nor is it until the agonies of death are upon them that he will grant the sick an hospital bed. "You seem to suffer," said he to one of them: "this leg of yours is threatened with mortification; the air of Cayenne will do you good."—"You vomit blood," said he to another; "your  
" case

" case requires deportation ; your fever is very bad ; but have patience, the ship is ready, and you will sail within two days." If by chance he is humane enough to feel their pulse, his countenance and convulsive gestures declare how much pleasure he would have in breaking their limbs or dissecting their bodies.

Thus do these unfortunate beings, who languish for relief and consolation, expire in the agonies of aggravated horror, with the dreadful idea, that they are about to leave behind them a wretched family and a blasted memory ; that their bodies will be thrown with neglect and contempt into a corner, and deprived of the last tribute of tenderness and affection ; that their wives, their children, and their friends, ignorant of their fate, will continue to pour forth prayers and vows for their deliverance, long after the surgeon Vives shall have insulted their ashes by laughing at their fate.

If a few of these unfortunate beings have saved some wrecks of their property, if they purchase, at an exorbitant price, fresh air and more wholesome food, it is true, they experience a momentary relief from their torments, as long as its price is within their reach ; their means are, however, at



length exhausted, lukewarm charity grows cold, and then, undermined by a long captivity, they will arrive at the place of their banishment, naked, and plundered of their last resources.

You will hardly suspect, that the tools of power, those proud republicans, those mortal enemies to tyranny, forgetting that they are the passive and criminal instruments of arbitrary violence, that the victims they are employed to torture are innocent, that shame and punishment would be the reward of their murderous complaisance, if the constitution resumed its vigour, can experience either pleasure or profit from rendering this infernal system still more cruel and oppressive; that through fear of losing a place which has so many competitors, or, like faithful dogs fawning for an expected bone, they should pay their court by inflicting miseries on the just, or find a pleasure in being ferocious, while their masters only require of them to be their submissive slaves!

'Tis in this den of misery, whence hope itself is banished, that every one who is deported, that is, every one who has the misfortune to have displeased the government or some municipal agent, a secretary of a commune, a justice of peace, a contractor, a mistress, or a servant, is condemned  
to

to linger. Here persons accused of emigration, whose names have been three or four times erased from the list, a favour for which they paid exorbitantly, though they never had quitted their country, their town, or even, perhaps, their house; here ministers of the Catholic religion, worthy curates and venerable vicars, who have grown old in unshaken faith and unsullied simplicity, and strangers to every idea of political intrigue; whose only errors are those of a scrupulous, conscious, and uncorruptible integrity, are abandoned, without the smallest hope or resource, to the most afflictive feelings that can torture a heart which crimes have never degraded. Here innocence, struggling amid the convulsions of despair, appeals in vain to the laws, cries aloud for a declaration of her crimes;—but, alas! prayers, groans, and despair, are all in vain! they are fated to be swallowed up in the island of Cayenne, there to perish on a land of exile; for the irrevocable order of deportation is to them a certain warrant of death. If this is not the fact, say, tyrants, would ye have deported them?

Ye to whose hearts sensibility is dear! ye who read these pages with a sigh of sympathetic horror! will believe, perhaps, that even while I am painting facts in feeble colours, my affrighted  
 imagina-

imagination, grown wild with the contemplation of cruelty and misfortune, is still exaggerating beyond the truth; but listen to the facts I shall relate.

I was present when two old men were brought in, the younger of whom, who had an ulcer in his leg, was seventy-six years old; the elder, who was blind and deaf, was in his eighty-third year: they were deported as disturbers of the public peace. Soldiers of the Gendarmerie, or rather a cruel banditti\*, a disgrace to the dress they wear, and who traffic in deportation, because these two old men were unable to give them a louis-d'or which they demanded, bound their enfeebled and fleshless arms, while they shed an unwilling and a lingering tear from their aged eyes, and let it fall upon their fetters.

I have beheld a woman seventy-five years of age (Madame de Marfac) dragged from Bourdeaux to Rochefort in a heavy and chilling rain, where she arrived destitute of clothes, of linen, of bread, of friends, and of every means of subsistence; for the revolution had devoured them all. Unfortunate

\* This accusation does not attach to the Gendarmerie in general; for although that body contains some atrocious villains, it also abounds with brave soldiers, whose hearts recoil at the office they are condemned to discharge, and who combine probity and humanity with the rigours of their employment.

woman !

woman ! she had, alas ! survived her family, and stood alone in the world ; her dog only remained ; he lay upon her knees, and she pressed him in her arms : this poor little animal, this faithful friend of her misfortunes, returned her caresses, and seemed to participate in her misery : what barbarian would have desired to separate them ? the savages destroyed him !

I have beheld a whole family of peasants in the most dreadful state of privation ; a father, his two sons, and two daughters, who had fled from the murderous knife of Le Bon : they were deported as dangerous persons !

I have beheld women, who were models of conjugal affection, holding their infant children to their breasts, which grief and misery had dried up, and living on charity, traverse France to follow their husbands into banishment !

I have beheld, in the severity of winter, in the month of January, Gibert Desmolières, a Representative of the People, and considerably advanced in years, dragged from Paris to Rochefort in a cart. This worthy man suffered his misfortunes with perfect tranquillity, weeping only for those of his mother ; a mother in extreme old age, of whom he was the only support ; a mother whom he most



tenderly loved, a mother from whom he had never been separated, and who will die far from her banished son, deprived of his support, and of the last offices of filial affection !

Perlet, Jardin, and Langlois \*, accompanied him. Langlois, who was an interesting young man, alike distinguished for his talents, his virtues, and his bravery, had an opportunity of escaping during the journey. Several kind and zealous friends were ready to rescue him at Rambouillet ; but he offered, however, this privilege to Gibert ; “ And “ what,” replied that Deputy, “ will then become “ of my mother ? ’Tis true I may escape, but the “ wreck of my property will be seized, and she “ will die in wretchedness.” In this struggle of generosity, Langlois, who was languishing under a disorder of the stomach, and vomited blood profusely, refused the relief offered by friendship, and would have shared the fate of Gibert. I took him away, however, and thus rescued him from his murderers and from death.

Lastly, for I can hold no longer this mournful pallet, whose colours are inexhaustible, I have beheld——but my tortured heart almost refuses to

\* He was editor of a newspaper, inimical to the Directory.

pursue the narration. It was seven in the evening : the prison-gate opened, and I beheld a man who lay across a horse bound hand and foot, while the soldier who accompanied him, told the horror struck spectators that his prisoner was a drunken fellow, who could not sit his horse. At length he was taken off, and carried into the prison. I followed him, and touched his pale cold forehead ; I endeavoured to recall his senses by means of salts—but, alas ! he was dead \* ! And 'tis at the close of the eighteenth century, this century distinguished for its humanity and civilization, that I have seen a lifeless corpse entered on the books of a jailor !!!

Even at the time when I am thus pouring forth the horrors of an afflicted heart, I am informed that a vessel had received into her hold a part of these unfortunate beings, to the number of two hundred, where, crowded and pressed against each other in this gulf of infection, the greater part of them, sinking under pestilential disorders, will, doubtless, never arrive at their destined place of banishment.

\* This unfortunate being was in the prison of Muren, or Muren, a commune five leagues distant from Rochefort. The justice of peace, who delivered a dying person to the gendarmes to convey to Rochefort, will surely, if there are laws in France, be one day punished for this atrocious crime.

I am informed that, at the time of their getting out to sea, they were attacked by the English, who are masters of our coast; and the ship being dismasted in the contest, the water entering on every side, she was obliged to take refuge in the port, where she retained her dying prisoners in her damaged and leaky hold; and that another vessel, after their passing a month in this dreadful cavern, had just received them on board, to depart a second time, and convey them to the land of deportation. Thus cast off by France, again repulsed by the English, and forced back upon our coast, driven to and fro like the waves of the dreadful element that bears them, imagine the despair of these unhappy beings, panting again to press the beloved shores of their country, though but again to be driven into banishment.

To you, dear and sacred victims of the ferocious Robespierre, if, on the other side the grave, your virtuous souls still thrill with compassion for our miseries, to you I appeal, and demand whether ye regret the sacrifice of life, or that short and sudden pang which instantly put a period to your torments, torments less dreadful than those inflicted on the soul, than the tedious and lingering convulsions of despair, or that perpetual agony of horror  
which

which renders the anguish of death, as it were, eternal, while it denies the undisturbed repose of the grave. Yet a little while, and even Robespierre will seem to have had a scrupulously kind and feeling heart; for those who, after nine years of revolution and of experience, still inflict such horrors, and exercise such tyranny, are at once more criminal, and their crimes less susceptible of extenuation.

Calvinists, Lutherans, Theophilanthropists, worshippers of Mithra, or of Moses! whatever be your religious opinions, or your diversified systems of worship, they all enjoin the practice of humanity, mercy, the love of your neighbour, and even the love of your enemies. 'Tis on this grand, this universal basis, that all the religions of the earth are built. And you, my fellow-citizens of France! say, is there one of you who may not view the arbitrary deportation of these unfortunate men as threatening himself with the same fate to-morrow?

*Hodie mihi, cras tibi.*

Surely there exists not an inhabitant of France but would shudder at being thus instantly torn by the caprice of a wanton calumniator from his wife, his children, his country, and his fortunes, and



robbed of every thing that is dear to him. O yield, then, to the dictates of your common interests, and forget your hatreds and mutual animosities; for to defend the cause of these victims of misery, is but to plead in behalf of the nation at large. Generals, Legislators, Judges, Directors, men of every party, and of every rank and condition, O listen to my voice. Your safety and self-preservation is inseparable from theirs: your acquiescence in their fate would render you responsible for these atrocious measures to every future age. Yes; it would bring upon your own heads the horror with which these arbitrary acts will fill the souls of your children, and which your cowardice and weakness will encourage.

(Signed)

RICHER-SERISY.

NAR-

## NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

THAT TOOK PLACE AT GUIANA SUBSEQUENT  
TO THE ESCAPE OF THE EIGHT EXILES,

UP TO THE 29 VENTOSE IN THE YEAR VII.

THE commandant of Sinamary loaded the prisoners who remained in his power with new insults and additional severity ; he also rendered their confinement more rigorous, and seemed, as it were, determined to punish them for not having taken to flight. It was long before they had any news of their friends. A month after their escape some soldiers reported that the canoc in which they had embarked, had been fallen in with at sea by a privateer belonging to the colony, which had sunk it ; and they added, that none of the fugitives escaped. Thus the unfortunate prisoners poured forth in aggravated captivity the tears of friendship and of grief over the fate of their hapless companions. The object of this false report, which was spread over the whole colony, was to deter the remaining prisoners from all ideas of attempting a similar escape, and to add to the sufferings they endured.

About this time Jeannet received instructions

from the Directory, somewhat more humane and moderate than the preceding, which were written by the ferocious Reubell; and the orders given to increase the rigour of the confinement of the remaining prisoners were now revoked.

On the 19th Prairial, the frigate *La Decade* arrived in Cayenne-road with 193 other deported persons; among whom were two members of the Council of Five Hundred, namely Gibert-Desmolières and Job-Aimé, some Emigrants, a great number of Priests, some refractory, others recanting, and some who had taken the oaths; and lastly, some persons who had been condemned to imprisonment for violations of the criminal code. The situation of these exiles at the time of their arrival was dreadful. None of them indeed had died during the passage; but they had all suffered cruelly, and the greater number were in the most perfect indigence, and almost naked; while biscuit, devoured by vermin, gourganne beans, and bad water, were the only nourishment of the aged and the infirm, who were sinking under their oppressions.

Upon their arrival, the inhabitants of Guiana again gave the most striking proofs of their kindness and hospitality. Many of these strangers were received at various plantations which were generously

rously offered them as an asylum; and a negro woman who possessed a small plantation in the district of Sinamary, and who has seven young children in her house, eagerly offered to receive one of the priests.

The instructions the Agent had received, in consequence of the remonstrances presented by the families of the persons first deported, enjoined him to permit them to settle in whatever part of Guiana they might choose, except the island of Cayenne. In compliance with these instructions the Agent published an order dated the 30th Prairial. (See Appendix, No. II.)

This order laid several restrictions on the liberty of the deported, and reserved to the Agent an arbitrary power over the establishments they might make.

Another order, dated 10 Prairial, granted them a continuation of their allowances till the 22d Brumaire. (See Appendix, No. III.)

On the 10th Thermidor, La Vilheurnois, who left France in the most vigorous state of health, terminated his career of life. He had been tried by a military commission nominated by the Directory, and condemned to a year of imprisonment. Yet without further trial or change of sentence, and  
merely



merely to make the public believe he had been connected with the members of the Legislative Body included in the law of the 19th Fructidor, he was deported as well as Brothier, who, like himself, was accused of being an agent of the brother of Louis XVI. Duverne de Presle, or Dunan, who was included in the same accusation, had alone been excepted, in consequence of the declarations upon which the pretended conspirators of the 18th Fructidor, were denounced to the Legislative Body; though not till that body had been most grossly outraged. La Vilheurnois, throughout his misfortunes, maintained a firm and invariable fortitude. At the hospital of Cayenne he was compelled to lie in the very bed where the detested Collot d'Herbois had died. He was much dissatisfied with Brothier, and had frequently so expressed himself to him, but was desirous to be reconciled, before he died; and having received from the Abbé's hands the last spiritual comforts, he expired in his arms, pouring forth vows for the re-establishment of the Monarchy.

As soon as a few *carbets*, or huts formed of hurdles and turf, and covered with thatch or leaves of trees, were constructed; eighty of the deported were conducted to Conanama; that is, all those who had not yet procured settlements. This place  
having

having no surgeon, the surgeon of Iracombo, which is three long leagues distant, received orders to go thither four times per month.

Several of these unfortunate persons were robbed on the road, and most of them had no other bed than the ground, when they arrived at their carbets; the soil being very damp, and chiefly consisting of a muddy morass. "I have seen Indians," said one of them in a letter to a friend; "yes, I have seen men whom we call savages, shudder at these dreadful scenes, which they assured me inspired them with horror. I have seen the Captain of the Indians of Iracombo, who worked together with his men in preparing these *carbets*, shed tears over our misfortunes, and express the strongest indignation against the authors of our miseries\*."

The quiet and peaceful settlers were obliged to crowd together to the number of twenty or twenty-five in one carbet, to avoid being confounded with miscreants who threatened them with destruction, and were watching to plunder them of their last remaining clothes. This kind of disorder soon broke out, and three or four of these mis-

\* "These Indians and those of Sinamary were compelled to work at the *carbets*, after which they were referred to Cayenne for payment."

creants were accused, one of a robbery committed in a neighbouring plantation, and the rest of a conspiracy to set fire to the carbets. Of four of them who were conducted to Sinamary, one was acquitted and sent back to Conanama, and the rest conveyed to Cayenne to take their trials. He that was accused of robbery was imprisoned at Conanama; and although his guilt was not proved by any witness whatever, the engineer who commands the military force, and who was the person that had, in the month of Frimaire, formed the plan of this establishment, and superintended the execution of it, threatened the prisoner that he should be shot at six o'clock in the afternoon, unless he confessed his crime in the course of the day. The poor wretch, however, broke out of prison, and after wandering two or three days in the woods, was met with and arrested, almost in a dying state, in the neighbourhood of Sinamary. He was sent to the hospital, where he died two or three days after.

He that was acquitted before the justice of peace at Sinamary, and sent back to Conanama, was conveyed to Cayenne as a *suspicious person*, by order of the Engineer Prévoist. Thus it is that justice is administered in the name of the republic!

Rovère

Rovère was beginning to recover from a long and severe illness, when he received intelligence of the noble and generous step of his affectionate wife, who informed him she was about to embark on board the *Medea*, with her two infant children, to share his fate, and, if possible, to alleviate his misfortunes. The first effect of this news, and the fears and anxieties to which it gave birth, caused a new relapse. His mind and body, however, seemed both re-animated, and he applied himself to forming and executing a plan of settling himself, together with his family, in a plantation of which he had an offer, in the neighbourhood of Cayenne. To accomplish this, however, it was necessary to conform to the regulations of the 30th Prairial; and some informalities in his demand retarded the consignments he expected, at which he was so greatly alarmed, that his fever returned, accompanied with the most dangerous symptoms.

At length, however, he received the requisite documents, and, notwithstanding his extreme debility, and the opposition of the surgeon, and notwithstanding death seemed already to hang over him, he embarked on the 15th Fructidor for Cayenne, though it was necessary to carry him in



a hammock from his bed to the schooner that was to convey him thither.

He had scarcely got out to sea before he had a most violent attack of fever in the night, and became quite delirious. This circumstance, added to the roughness of the sea, obliged the captain to return to Sinamary, where he landed on the 17th. Rovère was disembarked in a dying state, scarcely able to move a limb, and was even hoisted up and carried on shore in a hammock: he could not, however, be brought back to the house he before inhabited, as he had very great cause of complaint against the unfeeling ingratitude he had there experienced. One of the inhabitants, therefore, whose heart was more generous and sympathetic than that of his former host, although burdened with a large family and a sick house, offered to receive him. To his house he was carried almost in the agonies of death. The surgeon paid him every attention; but all his cares were in vain; and after suffering a considerable time, he died at three in the morning on the 25th Fructidor.

It is impossible to pourtray the long and complicated sufferings he endured. The apprehension of his wife and children arriving in the midst of these scenes of sickness and of death continually  
 harassed

harassed his mind, and he died calling upon their names, and imagining he was clasping them in his arms.

And here let me pay a tribute of respect and admiration to the kind-hearted and hospitable inhabitant who received him beneath his roof. This worthy man is one of the small number of Germans who survived the dreadful mortality that beset the planters, whose settlement was intrusted to the Chevalier Turgols at Chanvallon. After thirty-four years of labour, he had acquired a certain degree of affluence, when the new system adopted for the regulation of the colonies ruined his fortune and destroyed all his hopes. The illness of his wife and children increased still further his calamities; yet notwithstanding these afflictions, every one of the deported who was situated in his district experienced his beneficence and humanity. The name of this worthy man, who is keeper of the stores at Sinamary, is Morgenstern.

Eight of the newly deported persons took up their abode in a small room which they hired at Sinamary. On the 15th Fructidor six of them were in the hospital, and the other two ill of fevers; and on the 20th two of those who were at the hospital died; one of these was D'Havelange, a respectable

respectable old man, who had formerly been a Rector at the university of Louvain.

On the 9th Fructidor, the Agent, totally disregarding his former orders, by which he had promised the persons first deported their lodging and allowance of food till the 22d of Brumaire, wrote to the Commissary that these indulgences should cease on the 1st of Vendémiaire, at the same time ordering him to send to Conanama on the 25th Fructidor, those of the sixteen deported persons, who were unable to settle themselves agreeably to the regulations of his order of the 30th Prairial.

Thus was the permission to settle, which had been so frequently contested and restrained, and which the Minister of Marine had at length granted, suddenly changed into a positive command to settle and to become a planter without the means of cultivation; or to commence merchant without being allowed to go to the only port which commerce could frequent. It was necessary, however, to choose one of these alternatives, or be cruelly conducted by a military force to the carbets of Conanama.

This district is situated between Sinamary and Iracombo, in a savanna that is surrounded by extensive morasses, which render this spot still  
more

more unwholesome than Sinamary; and those who had languished during so long a period in these horrid deserts, and had beheld their friends perish through the effects of the pestilential air of Sinamary, had no sooner become seasoned to that dreadful climate, than they were again obliged to change their situation: the Agent having inhumanly ordered them to be removed to this new grave of the human race at Conanama.

However incapable they might be to devote themselves to agriculture and commerce, whatever other arrangements they might have made, yet even were they sick, were they in the agonies of death, still they must conform to the equally singular and arbitrary regulations of that order. (See Appendix, No. IV.) It arrived at Sinamary at a time when Brothier was just recovering from a severe fever; hence it had a cruel effect upon his health; for, having passed almost all his life in the study of mathematics and of literature, nothing could be more foreign to his habits than agricultural or commercial pursuits. On the 15th Fructidor he had been so active in assisting Rovère to embark, and exposed himself so much to the burning heat of the sun, as to cause a further relapse of his disorder; he had hired a small lodging, and



had addressed to the departmental administration a demand of a settlement. Some informalities, however, caused it to be returned; and as this answer did not reach him till the 20th Fructidor, at a time when he was in a state of extreme debility, it caused so great a depression of his spirits, that he conceived it was intended he should die at Conanama: thus his fever increasing, assumed the most alarming appearance, and he died at ten in the morning of the 26th Fructidor.

The death of Brothier will deprive the world of various works which he intended to have published from the manuscripts of his uncle, and among others, an edition of Pliny, the notes on which alone would have been highly important to those who are desirous of comparing the knowledge of the ancients, relative to natural history, with that of the moderns.

We have learnt, that, up to the present time, of the newly deported persons,

- 2 have died at Apronayac,
  - 9 at Cayenne and the rest of the colony,
  - 14 at Conanama,
  - 3 at Sinamary.
- 29 in the space of twenty-five days.

60 are sick at Conanama, 5 at Sinamary, and 20 at the least in various other parts of Guiana.

The daily allowance of all those whom the humanity of the inhabitants has received into their houses has been suppressed; nor are these individuals permitted to receive any assistance from the hospital.

The surgeon of the district of Sinamary performs his duty, although ill himself, with a zeal and activity that deserve the gratitude of all the exiles; but the most essential medicines are refused to be sent him from Cayenne, and he is often reduced to the painful necessity of seeing his patients die, through not having it in his power to administer the medicines their cases require.

The Agent has written to the Directory, giving a brilliant picture of the condition of most of the deported persons who have settled in the colony, and who are forced to make fictitious arrangements both in agriculture and in commerce; for what species of commerce or of cultivation of the earth can men, without the means of either, and in a sick or dying state, pursue?

Billaud-Varennes, however, has constantly received all the assistance he stood in need of. He

has lately left Sinamary to settle in the district of Makouria; and it is reported in the colony, that he receives supplies from Victor Hugues; while infirm and wretched priests, bending under the weight of years, and victims to religious persecution, are rejected by the hospital of the colony, and left to die without relief in a burning and infectious climate. One of these, a man sixty years of age, afflicted with a hernia, was brought to Rochefort in great pain. His age and illness ought to have exempted him from deportation, and he demanded the enforcing of the law. But he was answered with savage derision: "You may demand it from the Commandant of Cayenne, when you shall arrive there." There at length he arrived, but in such a state as it was impossible to behold without tears; yet thence he was removed without pity to Conanama, where he was on the point of expiring, when the surgeon of Iracombo, whose heart was affected by his misfortunes, offered him an asylum, and rescued him from the jaws of death.

The general result of the foregoing narrative is as follows:

First, That of the sixteen persons deported on board the corvette *La Vaillante*, eight remained at Sinamary;

Sinamary; and of these eight, six died in the space of ten months and four days; namely, Murinais on the 27th Frimaire, in the year VI, Tronçon-du-Coudray on the 4th Messidor, La Vilheurnois on the 10th Thermidor, Bourdon de l'Oise the same day, Rovère on the 25th Fructidor, Brothier on the 26th Fructidor. And that only two of these eight are still alive; namely, Marbois and Laffond-Ladébat; and even the former of these was attacked with a fever eighteen days ago.

Thus the mortality of these deported persons for the whole year is in the proportion of seven and two tenths to eight, or seventy-two to eighty; that is, according to this proportion, the whole number should be extinct in fourteen months.

It must be further observed, that eight of the deported persons rescued themselves from death about five months ago; and that it is at least probable some of these also would have died, had they remained at Sinamary.

2dly. That of the five deported members of the Council of Elders, three are now no more. These men were condemned, without criminality, accusation,



sation, or trial; they have left their country a heinous crime to atone for!

3dly. That only one member of the Council of Five Hundred remained at Sinamary; and he also has fallen. It is for his friends to explain their motives for sacrificing him.

4thly. That of two agents of royalism, already tried and condemned to imprisonment in France, and who were deported without any further trial, and in contempt of their actual sentence, neither is now alive.

5thly. That of the hundred and ninety-three persons deported on board the frigate *La Decade*, twenty-nine died in less than a month, and at least eighty-five are dangerously ill, and deprived of every species of relief.

In what nation of uncivilized savages or ferocious barbarians have men an idea of arbitrarily condemning, without trial or accusation, members of the political association to such a species of punishment and of torture? Yet of these victims of injustice the survivors are doubtless the most miserable. They have almost daily witnessed the dying groans of their companions in misfortune, and are haunted with the phantom of a  
painful

painful and languishing death on the savage coast of a distant country, far from their native homes, from their families, and from their friends.

On this horrid picture we shall make no reflections. It is to the justice and humanity of the French nation that it is submitted.

Dated Guiana, the 9th Vendémiaire, in the  
year VII.

**EXTRACT**

## EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM

M. F\*\*\* OF CAYENNE, TO HIS COUSIN MADAME

DE N\*\*\*.

Cayenne, the 24th Ventose,  
in the Year VII.

— YOU ask me, my dear Cousin, for news of the deported, and especially of the friend in whose favour you have so warmly written to me. His escape, and that of most of his companions in misfortune, must already be known to you several months ago. I was happy enough to be of some service to him during his stay at Sinamary; and it was perhaps through my advice that he so speedily resolved on flying from this scene of horror and of death.

In quitting this colony, the exiles were exposed to the greatest dangers. Providence, however, watched over them; and in a mere fishing-boat, with almost miraculous good fortune, they arrived, after experiencing the severest sufferings, in the territories of the neighbouring Dutch colony.

Most of those who remained behind have long ceased to exist. Their only survivors are, Barbé-Marbois and Laffond-Ladébat, who perhaps are only reserved for still more cruel hardships.

Jeannet is no longer Commissary of the Government at Cayenne; and the tyranny of his successor is so great, that we are almost compelled to regret his removal. We are continually told that it cannot continue long; but in the mean while we linger, as it were, in a tedious state of depression and sickness, in which the evils the patient endures while waiting for the remedy are dreadful. Ah, my dear Cousin! you complain of your sufferings in France: "You sigh," you say, "for the time when you will return to the colony!" while I would give the world never to have left the continent of Europe. The picture we are every day compelled to contemplate is too horrid for us to suppose you can be more wretched. You know, it is true, that unfortunate persons exist, but you are not eye-witnesses of their sufferings; and it is evident, the evils endured by others affect us less in proportion to the distance of the scene. Yes, my dear Cousin, I cannot but cherish a belief that men would be less depraved were the mirror of truth constantly held up before their eyes, to show them all the hideous deformity



deformity of vice; and the cruellest enemy of the deported would put a period to his vengeance, were he compelled to be the eye-witness of their misery: for the mere beholding his victims would fill his soul with remorse and horror.

A great number of other deported persons have arrived since my last at Guiana, chiefly consisting of ecclesiastics; among whom are two new deputies, Aimé and Gibert-Desmolières. But the inhabitants of Cayenne, who, though poor, are humane and hospitable, have the mortification to be unable to afford relief to all these poor unfortunate people, most of whom, totally destitute of all things, and sinking beneath sickness and infirmity, are waiting, as it were, for the stroke of death, which seems ready to fall upon their heads.

In vain have the planters solicited permission for them to settle in the plantations in the neighbourhood of the town; in vain did I offer to be security for two venerable old men, who, as I foresaw, could not survive their removal to Conanama, and whose bodies are now laid in the tomb. Neither our representations nor our prayers could prevail with the cruel-hearted man who governs us; and thus their destruction was inevitable. All of them are placed in the most unwholesome parts of Guiana.

Guiana. At Sinamary, though a horrid place, life may still continue to linger for a time: destruction was there too tardy in devouring her prey; and therefore it was resolved to bury them, as it were, alive at Kourou, Conanama, and other remote districts. And to these wild and nearly desert spots they are confined, where their only prospect is miserably to die in wretchedness and want. Every inhabitant of the colony shudders at these horrors; but, alas! we shall not long have to bewail the actual sufferings of these unfortunate beings, who are so cruelly sacrificed! for the earth seems each day to yawn beneath their feet, and the extinction of their last survivor will soon alleviate our sympathetic afflictions.

Job-Aimé and Gibert-Desmolières have, however, obtained permission to settle near the town. But will the tyrant always be equally well disposed toward them? His conduct to Laffond-Ladébat and Marbois proves, that no reliance can be placed on this capricious and cruel proconsul; for, fearing they might be carried off by the English from the coast of Sinamary, he thought fit, on the 25th Nivose last, to have them brought over burning sands to Cayenne; where, though they arrived in a very  
bad

bad state of health, they were, in conformity to his orders, lodged in a cockloft at the hospital. Being however persuaded the Agent was disposed to grant them another plantation, they eagerly indulged that expectation, and wrote him a letter, which I shall first copy, and then relate the consequences that ensued.

*Laffond-Ladébat and Barbé-Marbois to the Special Agent from the Executive Directory in French Guiana.*

“ Hospital at Cayenne, the 14th Ventôse,  
in the Year VII.

“ Citizen Agent,

“ If it is your intention to put an end to our  
“ present imprisonment, which has continued from  
“ the 25th Nivôse, we request your permission  
“ to settle in the plantation called L’Armorique.  
“ We have seen all our companions in misfortune  
“ successively perish, and it is our wish that we  
“ may not be separated. The illnesses we have  
“ experienced, and the debilitated state of Mar-  
“ bois, which has been increased by our unforeseen  
“ voyage from Sinamary to Cayenne, and the fear  
“ of

“ of relapses, which are peculiarly dangerous in  
 “ this climate, render it necessary that we should be  
 “ near Cayenne, in order to be within reach of the  
 “ medical and other assistance it affords. Citizen  
 “ P\*\*\* will be our security, should a regard to  
 “ our own characters and interests appear to you  
 “ insufficient pledges. We also request, Citizen  
 “ Agent, that this commission commence only  
 “ from the 1st Germinal next, a delay which is  
 “ indispensably necessary for the removal of our  
 “ effects from Sinamary. *We have the honour to*  
 “ *salute you* \*.

(Signed)

“ LAFFOND-LADEBAT,

“ BARBE-MARBOIS.”

When the Agent perused this petition, he immediately flew into a violent passion. The omission of the words “ Health and respect ” (Salut et respect) at the conclusion of the letter, was an outrage which it would have been a violation of his character to leave unpunished ; he even carried

\* *Nous avons l'honneur de vous saluer*, was formerly a common mode of concluding a respectful letter ; but as it is the language of gentlemen, and has the air of the *ancien regime*, it seems to have highly displeased this ferocious proconsul. T.



his ferocity so far as to avow this debasing motive as the ground of his conduct; and although the weather was dreadfully bad, and Marbois was still very ill, he and Ladébat were instantly embarked for Sinamary. I have heard from them thrice since their departure, and learnt that they are in a state of greater suffering and torment than ever. On their return to Sinamary they found the following *arrêté* or order under execution, and new vexations daily increase the weight of their misfortunes.

*“ Arrêté of the Commandant of Sinamary.*

“ By order of the Commandant of this station,  
 “ all the deported persons, without exception, are  
 “ to assemble in the square every Decadi and Quin-  
 “ tidi, at ten in the morning, there to pass muster  
 “ before the Military Commandant of the post.

“ They shall be ranged in two rows, and in due  
 “ order.

“ For the future all the deported shall be respon-  
 “ sible for the escape of any one of their number.

“ The deported are expressly prohibited from  
 “ quitting the station without a written permission  
 “ signed by the Commandant.

“ The guard at the point of the passage of the  
 “ Savannas, are ordered to arrest every deported  
 “ person

“ person who shall attempt to pass without showing the aforesaid permission †.

“ At Sinamary, the 28th Pluviôse, in the  
“ year VII.

(Signed) “ FREYTAG,  
“ Commandant of the Post.”

At Conanama, at Kourou, and in all the districts where any of the deported are placed, the same tyranny is exercised; two or three of them have, however, made their escape, or rather, perhaps, have fled into the forests in order to seek a more rapid and less cruel death.

M. Da \*\*\*, an Orléanais priest, but now deported to Conanama, has sent me a letter † written by him to his aged father, and which I transmit you herewith. What virtues, what greatness of soul he possesses! Ah! my dear and amiable cousin, let his letter be made public; it will melt even the hearts to which sensibility is almost a stranger; it will disarm vengeance itself.

Since the flight of Pichegru and his friends, I have received three boxes for the deported, one of

† This arrêté has a striking resemblance to the new law relative to hostages. *Fr. Ed.*

‡ See page 136.

which

which contains provisions and clothes, another is filled with shoes, and the third with feeds. I shall deliver these effects to those who remain here, together with several letters I have also received for them. Tell M \* \* \* that the letter wherein he openly advises them to fly, was faithfully delivered to me by M. R \* \* \*, who has rendered his friend considerable services. Should this letter reach you, have the goodness to send the following note to M. G \* \* \*, notary at —, and thus fulfil the intentions of his unfortunate brother, from whom I received it. The following is a copy :

“ I am about to die, my dear brother, and I  
 “ should be guilty of an offence before God, did I  
 “ not forgive my enemies. When you witnessed  
 “ my departure for Guiana, you were desirous to  
 “ know who was my denouncer; and you assured  
 “ me, in your grief, that you would sooner or  
 “ later revenge this crime. O my brother!  
 “ abandon this intention. Forgive him, as I for-  
 “ give him, I conjure you, in the name of Jesus  
 “ Christ, who is about to receive me in his Divine  
 “ mercy. Recommend me to the prayers of all  
 “ our relatives, and to those of my parishioners.  
 “ Adieu, my dear brother. I pray to God with  
 “ my dying breath, to pour down every blessing  
 “ and

“and prosperity on you, your wife, and your  
 “five children. I am indebted to Madame L \* \* \*  
 “thirty livres, which I request you will repay her.  
 “Adieu, my dearly beloved brother ! God will  
 “soon take his frail and sinful creature unto  
 “himself.

(Signed)

“P. M. G \* \* \*,

“Curate of M——.”

This worthy and respectable priest died the 16th  
 of the present month, two days after he wrote the  
 foregoing letter.

Adieu, my dear cousin. I will seize every pos-  
 sible opportunity of writing to you, both relative  
 to your own affairs, and to the unfortunate per-  
 sons for whom you feel so lively an interest. Re-  
 member me to Mesdames de C \* \*, H \* \*, and  
 W \* \*, not forgetting that worthy woman Bel \* \* \*.  
 M. P \* \* \*’s agent is very ill, but all your  
 friends are well. You do not tell me enough of  
 Zoé ; I hope at my return to find her answer my  
 expectations. Meanwhile embrace her very ten-  
 derly for me.

F \* \* \*.

LET-



L E T T E R

FROM

PIERRE-MARIE DA \*\*\*, CURATE OF ST. L—,

TO HIS FATHER

M. DA \*\*\*, A LANDHOLDER AT V—.

Conanama, a District of French  
Guiana, 3d Feb. 1799.

GOD has watched over his sinful creature. Your son is alive. Death has not seized your child, whose fate you deplore. O my father! you that have taught me from my earliest infancy, both by habit, and by the pleasure it gives, to love virtue, and virtue alone, if your eyes, no doubt incessantly overflowing with tears, are still open to the light of heaven, may these few lines, written by a hand you love, be delivered into yours! May they be a momentary consolation to your age; and may that grief which too long has weighed you down, at least respect the approaches to the grave. O my father! there is, there is another life, where the virtuous shall find shelter from iniquity. Even if religion did not reveal this truth, misfortune itself would teach it to mankind.

kind. Yes, my father! in that world, where all vain distinctions will be confounded, where the wicked can no longer pursue us, we shall meet again; there will your virtues and my misfortunes cause me to find favour in the sight of God; there shall we be again united, and live eternally together. O my father! shall I speak of my enemies? Ah, no! the minister of a God of peace ought not to feel that he has an enemy. Our holy religion teaches us to forgive, and Heaven is my witness, that at Conanama my lips have never pronounced the names of my persecutors, but to draw down upon them the Divine mercy. Ah! if they be but so fortunate that repentance may enter their hearts, and should I not be present to administer consolation to them, and to say to them, "I have long since forgiven you," let some generous hand show them this letter, and thus alleviate their torments! Ah! be their pardon pronounced also by you! The guilty have more need of pity than those who become their victims; and the feelings of him who is tortured by remorse, are so horrible, that even his enemy would willingly console him.

My father, you are impatient to know the spot that contains your son. 'Tis in the abode of death

T

and

and of virtue that he offers up to his God a life of sorrow and of penitence.

You well know, my father, that, being always entirely devoted to my duty, I was surrounded by my faithful flock at the time when a tyrannical order arrived to tear me from the functions of my holy office. A man who was clothed in extraordinary power, declared himself my enemy, though he did not even know me. The government wrote to their agents narrowly to watch the priests; and the Commissary M \* \* \* imagined he was serving his country by devoting them to death. I was marked out among others as his victim; and while my sole occupation was to pour the words of consolation into the bosom of the families around me, and preach to them to forget the errors of mankind, and forgive their injuries, I was treated as a partisan of faction, an enemy to my country, and was even accused of endeavouring to excite a civil war. Yet it was through my exertions that peace still prevailed in the neighbourhood, that the inhabitants were not divided into parties, and that the moral virtues of the gospel sprang up in every heart. The Commissary, however, accused me, and I was arrested. And as my worthy parishioners endeavoured to defend me, in spite of my efforts

forts to dissuade them, I was represented as still more criminal; and on this account, a few days after, an order came for my deportation.—O my father! dragged from dungeon to dungeon, loaded with irons, and overwhelmed with misery and anxieties, my fortitude at length deserted me, and showed me my own weakness. Each night, as soon as the door of my dark and dismal prison was barred and bolted, when I was thus concealed from the view of my jailors, your son burst into tears, and the minister of the altar of God forgot the sufferings of Jesus Christ to weep over his own. Alas! how weak is man, when God for a single moment leaves him to his own strength!

Providence, however, at length always holds out a supporting hand to encourage and strengthen the repentant sinner. I arrived at Rochefort, and even there, in the abode of crimes and wickedness, I, as it were, met with my guardian angels. O great God! and could I still repine? Ah, may my mouth never again be opened to murmur at thy ways! O my Creator! may thy goodness illuminate my soul; may it be the guide of my heart; and may I at length be worthy to inhabit the obscurity of the tomb, together with the elect, and with my virtuous companions of misfortune. O my father! I have no



right to speak any longer of myself. These venerable old men, whose fate I am proud to participate, have taught me how to suffer; it was at Rochefort that I found them. The dungeon where I was entombed, already contained eight other Ministers of the Church, in whom all the virtues were exemplified. 'Twas night when I entered that funereal abode, where a single lamp trembled forth its glimmering sepulchral light. Ah, dreadful sight! Venerable old men lying upon the stones, with a little straw beneath their heads, and yet all enjoying a sweet interval of sleep! Ah, how easily does innocence repose! Soon my eyes involuntarily fixed upon one of these unfortunate worthies, whose celestial countenance, ennobled by the silver locks of age, commanded my veneration! It was Don Louis, of the order of St. Bruno. When I beheld him, I was affected with a sacred awe and respect; I approached him, threw myself on my knees before him, and made a vow to the Almighty, that I would devote all my cares to alleviate his miseries. Soon however he awoke, and perceiving me, raised his eyes towards heaven, and stretching forth his hand to me, "O my son," said he, "are you also a child of the Lord? May thy faith be thy support under persecution, and may God ever be thy comforter!"

“ comforter !” His companions now also awoke, and uniting with him, collected round me, and forgot their own misfortunes, to think of mine alone. I seemed, as it were, the only victim, and the only one that needed their consolation. “ Ministers of Jesus Christ,” exclaimed I, “ O my fathers ! O models of fortitude and virtue ! may God grant me such strength as you possess ! and should my weakness be punished by long afflictions, may my faith not be shaken, and may I, by imitating you, deserve the crown of reward which Heaven has in store for you !”

Two days after my arrival we were removed from our prison, to be dragged on board a ship, which was to transport us to Guiana. Here I was the companion of a great number of Ecclesiastics from all parts of France, among whom were several constitutional and married Priests, a great number of men of sixty years of age, Journalists, Emigrants, and two Members of the Legislative Body, namely, Job-Aimé and Gibert-Desmolières. Such were the victims of tyranny, who were heaped together on board the frigate *La Décade*. The aged and worthy prior of St. Claude was ill of a hernia, and could scarcely walk. Another of my brethren was languishing in a fever, and cannot live many days.

Girard

Girard d'Havelange and the virtuous Don Louis were sinking beneath the weight of years; and most of the others were either sick or infirm. In vain did the Deputies Gibert and Job-Aimé plead for these unfortunate people, for their voices were silenced and overpowered. " 'Tis at Cayenne " you must remonstrate," was the only answer they could obtain. Yes, my father! old men, heaped, as it were, upon each other, lying extended on the ground, tormented with vermin, destitute of linen and clothes, and worse fed than the vilest criminals—such is the heart-rending picture the deported present.

To our floating-dungeon no air was admitted but through a small hole; and thus mephitic effluvia were continually propagating contagion, and a cadaverous and deadly smell spread throughout this burning furnace of destruction. Yet the slightest murmur was not heard; for all the prisoners exhibited that fortitude which innocence alone can inspire; all had learned to endure his sufferings in silence. The astonished crew contemplated their victims with admiration. Several of the sailors secretly wept over our misfortunes, and their kindness and humanity induced them generously to offer us every alleviation in their power.

power. O worthy Benoist ! amiable Rosier ! though we forget the names of those who have loaded us with injuries, we will preserve for ever the memory of yours impressed in the innermost folds of our hearts. Yes, honest and kind-hearted sailors ! ye may at least enjoy the satisfaction of having saved the lives of two worthy men. If one of them, alas ! (d'Havelange,) has since terminated his career, you at least prolonged his existence by your cares.

Neither have we forgotten the generosity of several of the officers, whose names I would gladly mention, but it would unnecessarily expose them to the hatred of the wicked and vindictive.

At length we landed in Guiana, where the inhabitants would willingly have alleviated our misfortunes, had they not been prevented by our second deportation. The Commissary of the Government executed with extreme rigour the orders he had no doubt received ; for who would be so cruel or so depraved as of his own free motion to become the instrument of torture to his fellow-creatures ?

The deported were divided into various classes ; some being sent off to Sinamary and its environs, while others were placed in the horrid deserts of  
Aprouayac



Aprouayac and Conanama. 'Tis from this last, from this devouring tomb of man, that your son now writes: 'tis here that, supported by the example of his brethren, he endeavours, through patient suffering, to deserve that reward which you, my father, have merited by your virtues. Conanama is one of the remotest districts in the colony, being situated in the midst of surrounding forests, and covered with muddy morasses, that render the air impure by filling it with fetid exhalations. The plantations are confined to a few mis-shapen huts, the abode of misery and of death. Such is the savage country to which we are banished !

Of the eight unfortunate priests I found at Rochefort only two are alive. Don Louis died five days ago, and during the five days that have followed his death have the ashes of that great and just man been watered with all our tears. Within an hour of the time when he breathed his last, that worthy old man crawled, in spite of my dissuasions, to the middle of the carbet where he lived, and there, prostrating himself upon the earth in the midst of his brethren, or rather in the midst of spectres and of shades, and after receiving from my hands the last spiritual consolations, he said, " My brethren in Christ Jesus, all the evils I have  
 " endured

"endured are nothing ; since the Redeemer  
 "himself drank vinegar and gall.—Let us die  
 "then, as the Apostle says, in the hope of en-  
 "tering the holy city of Heaven ; let us die in  
 "the hope that our tribulations, which have lasted  
 "but for a moment, will soon lead us to eternal  
 "glory ; let us die in the hope that Christ Jesus  
 "will one day change our vile and corruptible  
 "body, and make it like his glorious and heavenly  
 "body. Before we die let us pray for our perfe-  
 "ctors, and may our prayers rise up even to  
 "God himself !" Here Don Louis ceased, and I  
 recited by his side the prayers for the dying. But  
 soon his clay-cold hand stiffened as I held it, and he  
 expired in my arms.

Each day new misfortunes beset us. One vic-  
 tim is followed by another, and the very man  
 who a day or two hence, perhaps to-morrow, will  
 be overtaken by death, is now digging with plea-  
 sure and satisfaction the earth that will soon open  
 to receive him. The tomb indeed is the utmost  
 boundary of all our sublunary desires ; and he who  
 is stepping into it, weeps but for those who sur-  
 vive him. The cemetery where our friends repose  
 is the scene to which we are continually directing  
 our steps. There we frequently assemble, and love

to choose our last abode, where we hope at length to find repose. There each marks out the space he wishes to occupy near the grave of his deceased friend, and, reclining upon his tomb, regrets that he must still for a while be separated from him. That grave which he dug with his own hands, and which is waiting for his mortal part, now becomes his hope, and five or six days of expected life seem too long a delay to his impatient soul.

Yesterday a Priest from Brabant, who had not appeared at muster for several days, was found in a neighbouring forest half eaten by wild beasts. He had apparently been starved to death. His hands were joined, and on his lifeless lips lay the sign of his faith. In this state some negroes brought him to us, and we rendered the last offices to this Christian martyr this morning.

We are informed that in all the districts where the deported are stationed, their fate is no less horrible than ours. Death seems to divide himself, in order to strike them with the more rapidity: those who have not fallen, languish in the most dreadful condition; and it seems as though this part of Guiana were inhabited but by the shades and phantoms of the dead.

According

According to an exact calculation, it appears probable, that of the hundred and ninety-three persons deported, ten will not be alive five months hence. Your son perhaps will ere then have fallen. Yet to him the apprehension of his fate is far from being a subject of affliction. He pauses upon it without fear; and the hope that his soul, thus purged by suffering, will be worthy to appear before the tribunal of God, supports and strengthens him amid all his trials.

Adieu, my dear father: may the Lord protect thy old age, and may his blessing fall upon my sister, and her poor children!

I conclude by asking your blessing upon myself, and the benefit and assistance of your prayers.

Your dutiful and affectionate son †,

DA \* \* \*.

† This letter reached the family of the writer, but his father, alas! was dead. Grief had brought down his gray hairs to the grave. *Fr. Ed.*



## EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM

BARBE-MARBOIS TO HIS WIFE.

Sinamary, 29th Ventôse, in  
the Year VII.

I HAD seen almost all my companions in misfortune perish at Sinamary, and was myself scarcely able to survive the dreadful contagion of the place. At length, however, I began to recover my health, though I still continued in a very weak state, arising from an illness of five months duration; when suddenly, in consequence of an unfounded and ridiculous report, that the English were coming to Sinamary, I was removed, notwithstanding my sickness, to Cayenne, under a military force, being closely guarded by a corporal and four soldiers. Thus I dragged myself along with great pain and difficulty across the sands, sometimes wet through with heavy rains, sometimes sinking beneath a scorching sun. I expected indeed to have died, had not the care I experienced in the hospital somewhat recovered my health. Hopes were given to Laffond-Ladébat and myself, nay, we were even assured,

assured, on the part of the Agent, that we might settle in the island three leagues from Cayenne; and I was extremely desirous of doing so, since the air is less unwholesome there than here. When every thing was ready, both the plantation and our provisions, I wrote to the Agent, requesting permission to settle three leagues from Cayenne, in a wholesome spot, where we should not be exposed to the danger of being carried away by an armed force, on account of fears that were wholly chimerical. Upon this the Agent ordered notice to be given us, to be ready in an hour to return to Sinamary, and in less than that space we were put on board an open canoe, where the surge came frequently over me. This canoe, in which there was no seat, was a quarter full of water. Thus I passed the night in a cold bath, exposed to the wind, and in a cruel state of suffering. Hence I had a relapse of my fever, and since the 16th, when I arrived, I have had seven violent attacks.

This treatment cannot be justified on any ground whatever. But I omit such particulars as would give you the greatest pain. To me they must produce fatal consequences; for, notwithstanding my energy and fortitude, they will cer-

tainly shorten my life. Judge by what I write of that on which I am silent; and, if I cannot obtain justice, if I cannot be brought to trial, let me at least be allowed to inhabit a less hostile climate. Otherwise the next year will be the last of my life; for the summers here are extremely fatal.

(Signed) BARBE-MARBOIS.

ARRIVAL

## ARRIVAL OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS IN LONDON.

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*M. de R\*\*\* to M. Lewis Zelmann, a Merchant at  
Hamburgh.*

London, October 27, 1798.

OF the eight deported persons who effected their escape from Guiana, only four have arrived in London, namely, on the 25th September last. I have had occasion to see Messrs. Pichegru and De la Rue five or six times, and I hope to cultivate their acquaintance still further. With them is M. Dofsonville, who seems to be extremely attached to them. As to Adjutant-general Ramel, the Government did not permit him to remain long in England. His misfortunes have not yet obliterated the remembrance of the share he took in the denunciations of Malo, at the time of the trial of La Vilheurnois. Hence, two days after his arrival, he received an order to take his departure for the continent. Being, however, totally destitute, Mr. Wickham generously supplied him with necessaries, in compassion to his extraordinary sufferings.

Now that I am acquainted with General Pichegru,



gru, I am no longer surpris'd at his great military reputation; and you know that I am not accustomed to form rash and precipitate judgments. 'Tis therefore after having long studied his character, that I venture to pronounce my opinion; Pichegru then is indisputably one of the greatest Generals in Europe; but I do not imagine him to possess equal talents as a Statesman. He is rather to be considered as one of those brave men, whose proper place is at the head of an army. His very walk is that of a conqueror, his manner and appearance those of a hero, and his countenance that of an honest man. He never speaks but of his country, and it is easy to perceive that his opinion is entirely the child of patriotism. In general, however, he talks but little, and leaves to his friend and colleague De la Rue the business of keeping up the conversation. De la Rue seems to possess a strong mind; his manners are noble, his language fluent, and he appears wholly engrossed with the interests of France—I believe his morals to be as strict as his talents are brilliant. General Pichegru speaks of him as of a most courageous man. They are very close friends.

On their arrival in London, the deported persons had the good fortune to meet with the worthy  
Tilly,

Tilly, the American Captain, who had been their deliverer, and whom the Commissary Jeannet had sent from Cayenne for France to be tried there. But the vessel that was bringing him over being taken by the English, this excellent man had the good fortune to escape the vengeance of the French Government. The deported were unable to offer him any other recompence than the tears of gratitude; but he was treated by the Ministry with the greatest distinction, and every requisite measure has been taken to enable him to return to his own country without incurring further danger.

Pichegru being indisposed at the time of his arrival in England, the physicians prescribed the country air. De la Rue, however, who continued in London for their common interests, went every other day to visit his friend. The General has received, and still continues to receive, daily visits from the most distinguished Members of Parliament, and other persons of eminence.

The deported escaped from the place of their banishment in a most miraculous manner. During the interval therefore that will precede the publication of their own Memoirs, I send you the following Extract of a Letter, which contains an account of their escape. It is a simple narration communi-

ated by M. De la Rue, which he permitted me to copy, and which I am eager to transmit you.

“ After a most painful voyage of fifty-two days, the deported arrived, almost all in a state of sickness, at Cayenne the capital of Guiana, and situated in an island of the same name \*. Here they were imprisoned during a fortnight at the hospital, from which they were removed to a spot at twenty-five leagues distance on the continent, in the most miserable part of the colony, where they were placed under a guard of negro soldiers, whose rage endeavours were made incessantly to provoke against their prisoners, by asserting that it was their intention again to reduce the blacks to slavery.

“ Condemned to live upon sailors’ allowance, lodged in rooms built for negro prisons, each moment threatened with the poniard, or with poison, forced to associate with the ferocious Billaud-Varennes, loaded with humiliations, deprived of all communication with the inhabitants of the colony, surrounded with all the accumulated causes of approaching destruction, a

\* “ The Agent of the Directory in this colony is one Jeannet, who performed his revolutionary career under Danton, his uncle.”

being

2.

“ party

" party of them formed a plan to rescue them-  
 " selves from this state of degradation and misery,  
 " and from the fate that had already fallen on the  
 " venerable Murinais, and which still hung over  
 " the heads of all his survivors. And though the  
 " difficulties they had to encounter were innume-  
 " rable, and the dangers terrific ; yet their courage  
 " overcame the one, and braved the other. A mere  
 " Indian canoe was the only vessel wherein they  
 " performed a voyage of a hundred leagues on a  
 " stormy sea, in a track with which they were to-  
 " tally unacquainted, and without a compass. In  
 " this fragile bark, after having languished six  
 " months and a half in an almost savage state,  
 " eight of them committed themselves to the  
 " waves : namely Messrs. Barthélemy and his ser-  
 " vant, General Pichegru, Aubry, De la Rue,  
 " Willot, Doffonville, and Ramel. They departed  
 " in the night of the 3d of June, and on the 5th  
 " met with a heavy sea which drove them on  
 " the coast, wrecked their canoe, and deprived  
 " them of the little biscuit that remained \*.

" Forests, which had hitherto known no inha-

\* " This explains a passage in Ramel's Narrative, that has  
 " given cause for much surprise : no one believing it possible to  
 " exist six days entirely without eating." *Fr. Ed.*



“ bitants but tigers and other wild beasts, now  
 “ became their asylum. Tormented with the fear  
 “ of being still upon French territory, and covered  
 “ by innumerable insects of various species, sink-  
 “ ing with hunger and thirst, exposed to the fero-  
 “ city of the Maroon negroes who infest this part  
 “ of Guiana, they continued in this dreadful situa-  
 “ tion till two days after, when they were liberated  
 “ by two Dutch soldiers, whom chance directed that  
 “ way. Mistaken at first by these men for enemies,  
 “ they had nearly become the objects of their fire,  
 “ till, by the signals of friendship they held out,  
 “ they dissipated their suspicions, and were in-  
 “ formed they were only three leagues from a  
 “ Dutch post called Orange.

“ On their arrival there they obtained, without  
 “ difficulty, of the Commandant, all the needful  
 “ accommodations for their journey to Surinam,  
 “ where they were received in the kindest and most  
 “ honourable manner. But, through fear of ex-  
 “ posing the colony, and particularly its worthy  
 “ Governor, to the vengeance of the French Direc-  
 “ tory, whose fatal influence on Holland is too  
 “ well known, they determined to leave it a few  
 “ days afterwards, except Monf. Barthélemy, whose  
 “ bad state of health would not have permitted  
 “ him

" him to support the fatigues and encounter the  
 " dangers that still awaited them : for they endea-  
 " voured in vain to procure a passage on board  
 " some merchant-ship, all of them being ensured  
 " under an exprefs condition not to take any pas-  
 " sengers whatever.

" Thus they were obliged to embark on board a  
 " mere shallop, in seas that were continually in-  
 " fested by the pirates of Hugues, Vice-director of  
 " Guadaloupe. Scarcely had they got out to sea  
 " before they were attacked by a privateer, which,  
 " however, fortunately proved to be English. The  
 " next day a second privateer came up with them,  
 " under French colours, a black crew, and the  
 " captain speaking French, all characteristic marks  
 " of her being one of Hugues's cruisers. For more  
 " than an hour the deported thought themselves  
 " on the point of falling into the hands of that  
 " pirate; and therefore, in the conviction that  
 " death would be their lot, they all resolved to risk  
 " the immediate sacrifice of their lives, in an at-  
 " tempt to take the privateer. Nor did they, till  
 " the captain came on board their vessel, discover  
 " that he was English. This captain, like the  
 " former, treated them with great humanity. A  
 " third vessel, however, soon gave them chase;  
 " and

“ and to avoid her they ran into the mouth of a  
 “ river, which they found to be that of Berbice.

“ The governor of this territory, and Colonel  
 “ Heslop, Commandant of the troops, lavished on  
 “ them all the attentions that a spirit of generosity  
 “ could suggest to men of honour and sensibility.  
 “ The latter conveyed them himself to Demarary,  
 “ on board a ship very completely armed.

“ The highly flattering reception, however,  
 “ which they experienced from the Governor and  
 “ inhabitants of Demarary, was soon clouded by a  
 “ new and painful separation. Messrs. Willot and  
 “ Aubry were attacked with a very dangerous  
 “ fever, and were totally unable to undertake the  
 “ voyage. The rest were put on board a very fine  
 “ merchant-ship, called the Grenade, commanded  
 “ by the very worthy Capt. Paichard. But con-  
 “ trary winds not permitting the fleet to which the  
 “ Grenade belonged to put into Martinique, the  
 “ exiles were carried to St. Eustatius, where they  
 “ were treated with all the affability and attention  
 “ that could be expected from the very respectable  
 “ Governor and the worthy inhabitants of that  
 “ island. Soon afterwards, Admiral Hervey, on  
 “ the information of Colonel Heslop, gave orders  
 “ for their safe and commodious conveyance; and  
 “ they

“ they sailed on board the *Aimable*, commanded  
 “ by Capt. Lobb, whose kindness and attention give  
 “ him a claim to their eternal gratitude and esteem.  
 “ They arrived in London on the 25th Sept. last;  
 “ whence they are extremely impatient to depart;  
 “ that they may have it in their power to seize  
 “ every opportunity again to be useful to their  
 “ native country.”

To this narrative, which cannot but be extremely  
 interesting to you, I will add an account of the  
 escape of Sir Sydney Smith and the long captivity  
 he endured. They are not written, it is true, by  
 Sir Sydney himself; but he relates his adventures  
 with so much elegance and spirit, that they have  
 made a very strong impression on my mind. In-  
 deed, when I showed him the following narrative,  
 of which I send you a copy, he expressed great  
 surprise at the fidelity of my memory.

*Account of Sir Sydney Smith's Imprisonment and  
 Escape.*

“ When I was taken at sea,” said the gallant  
 Commodore, “ I was accompanied by my secretary  
 “ and M. de Tr——, a French gentleman, who  
 “ had emigrated from his country, and who, it had  
 “ been



“ been agreed, was to pass for my servant, in the  
 “ hope of saving his life by that disguise. Nor  
 “ were our expectations frustrated; for John (as  
 “ I called him) was lucky enough to escape all  
 “ suspicion.

“ On my arrival in France, I was treated at first  
 “ with unexampled rigour, and was told that I ought  
 “ to be tried under a military commission and shot  
 “ as a spy. The government, however, gave  
 “ orders for my removal to Paris, where I was sent  
 “ to the Abbaye, and, together with my two com-  
 “ panions in misfortune, was kept a close pri-  
 “ soner.

“ Meanwhile, the means of escape were the  
 “ constant object on which we employed our  
 “ minds. The window of our prison was toward  
 “ the street; and from this circumstance we de-  
 “ rived a hope sooner or later to effect our object.  
 “ We already contrived to carry on a tacit and  
 “ regular correspondence, by means of signs, with  
 “ some women, who could see us from their apart-  
 “ ments, and who seemed to take the most lively  
 “ interest in our fate. They proposed themselves  
 “ to assist in facilitating my liberation; an offer  
 “ which I accepted with great pleasure: and it is  
 “ my duty to confess, that notwithstanding the  
 “ enormous

“ enormous expences occasioned by their fruitless  
 “ attempts, they have not less claim to my grati-  
 “ tude. Till the time of my departure, in which,  
 “ however, they had no share, their whole employ-  
 “ ment was endeavouring to save me; and they  
 “ had the address at all times to deceive the vigi-  
 “ lance of my keepers. On both sides we used  
 “ borrowed names, under which we corresponded,  
 “ theirs being taken from the ancient mythology;  
 “ so that I had now a direct communication with  
 “ Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio.

“ At length I was removed to the Temple,  
 “ where my three Muses soon contrived means of  
 “ intelligence, and every day offered me new  
 “ schemes for effecting my escape. At first I ea-  
 “ gerly accepted them all, though reflection soon  
 “ destroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty  
 “ had given birth. I was also resolved not to  
 “ leave my secretary in prison, and still less poor  
 “ John, whose safety was more dear to me than  
 “ my own emancipation.

“ In the Temple, John was allowed to enjoy a  
 “ considerable degree of liberty. He was lightly  
 “ dressed like an English jockey, and knew how to  
 “ assume the manners that corresponded with that  
 “ character. Every one was fond of John, who

“ drank and fraternised with the turnkeys, and  
 “ made love to the keeper’s daughter, who was  
 “ persuaded he would marry her; and as the little  
 “ English jockey was not supposed to have received  
 “ a very brilliant education, he had learnt, by  
 “ means of study, sufficiently to mutilate his native  
 “ tongue. John appeared very attentive and  
 “ eager in my service, and always spoke to his  
 “ master in a very respectful manner. I scolded  
 “ him from time to time *with much gravity*; and  
 “ he played his part so well, that I frequently sur-  
 “ prised myself forgetting the friend, and seriously  
 “ giving orders to the valet. At length John’s  
 “ wife, Madame de Tr\*\*\*, a very interesting  
 “ lady, arrived at Paris, and made the most un-  
 “ common exertions to liberate us from our cap-  
 “ tivity. She dared not come, however, to the  
 “ Temple through fear of discovery; but from a  
 “ neighbouring house she daily beheld her husband,  
 “ who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike in  
 “ secret the pleasure of contemplating the friend of  
 “ his bosom. Madame de Tr\*\*\* now commu-  
 “ nicated a plan for delivering us from prison to a  
 “ sensible and courageous young man of her ac-  
 “ quaintance, who immediately acceded to it  
 “ without hesitation. This Frenchman, who was

“ sincerely

“ sincerely attached to his country, said to Madame  
 “ de Tr\*\*\*, ‘ I will serve Sydney Smith with  
 “ pleasure, because I believe the English govern-  
 “ ment intend to restore Louis XVIII. to the  
 “ throne; but if the Commodore is to fight  
 “ against France, and not for the King of France,  
 “ Heaven forbid I should assist him!’

“ Ch. L’Oiseau (for that was the name our  
 “ young friend assumed) was connected with the  
 “ agents of the King, then confined in the Tem-  
 “ ple, and for whom he was also contriving the  
 “ means of escape. It was intended we should all  
 “ get off together. M. La Vilheurnois being con-  
 “ demned only to a year’s imprisonment, was  
 “ resolved not to quit his present situation; but  
 “ Brothier and Duverne de Presle were to follow  
 “ our example. Had our scheme succeeded, this  
 “ Duverne would not, perhaps, have ceased to  
 “ be an honest man; for till then he had con-  
 “ ducted himself as such. His condition must now  
 “ be truly deplorable; for I do not think him  
 “ formed by nature for the commission of crimes.

“ Every thing was now prepared for the execu-  
 “ tion of our project. The means proposed by  
 “ Ch. L’Oiseau appeared practicable, and we re-  
 “ solved to adopt them. A hole twelve feet long



“ was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the  
 “ prison, and the apartments to which the cellar  
 “ belonged were at our disposal. Mademoiselle  
 “ D \* \* \*, rejecting every prudential consideration,  
 “ generously came to reside there for a week, and  
 “ being young, the other lodgers attributed to her  
 “ alone the frequent visits of Ch. L'Oiseau. Thus  
 “ every thing seemed to favour our wishes. No  
 “ one in the house in question had any suspicions;  
 “ and the amiable little child Madlle. D \* \* \* had  
 “ with her, and who was only seven years old,  
 “ was so far from betraying our secret, that she  
 “ always beat a little drum, and made a noise,  
 “ while the work was going on in the cellar.

“ Meanwhile L'Oiseau had continued his labours  
 “ a considerable time without any appearance of  
 “ day-light, and he was apprehensive he had at-  
 “ tempted the opening considerably too low. It  
 “ was necessary, therefore, that the wall should be  
 “ founded; and for this purpose a mason was re-  
 “ quired. Madame de Tr \* \* \* recommended  
 “ one, and Ch. L'Oiseau undertook to bring him,  
 “ and to detain him in the cellar till we had  
 “ escaped, which was to take place that very day.  
 “ The worthy mason perceived the object was to  
 “ save some of the victims of misfortune, and  
 “ came

“ came without hesitation. He only said, ‘ *If I am arrested, take care of my poor children.*’

“ But what a misfortune now frustrated all our hopes ! Though the wall was founded with the greatest precaution, the last stone fell out, and rolled into the garden of the Temple. The sentinel perceived it ; the alarm was given ; the guard arrived ; and all was discovered. Fortunately, however, our friends had time to make their escape, and none of them were taken.

“ They had, indeed, taken their measures with the greatest care ; and when the Commissaries of the *Bureau Central* came to examine the cellar and apartment, they found only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and hay, and the hats with tri-coloured cockades provided for our flight, as those we wore were black.

“ This first attempt, though extremely well conducted, having failed, I wrote,” continued Sir Sydney, “ to Mad. de Tr \* \* \*, both to console her and our young friend, who was miserable at having foundered just as he was going into port. We were so far, however, from suffering ourselves to be discouraged, that we still continued to form new schemes for our deliverance.

“ The

“ The keeper perceived it, and I was frequently so  
 “ open as to acknowledge the fact. ‘ *Commodore,*  
 “ said he, ‘ *your friends are desirous of liberating*  
 “ *you, and they only discharge their duty. I also am*  
 “ *doing mine in watching you still more narrowly.*’  
 “ Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled  
 “ severity, yet he never departed from the rules of  
 “ civility and politeness. He treated all the pri-  
 “ soners with kindness, and even piqued himself  
 “ on his generosity. Various proposals were made  
 “ to him, but he rejected them all, watched us  
 “ the more closely, and preserved the profoundest  
 “ silence. One day when I dined with him, he  
 “ perceived that I fixed my attention on a window  
 “ then partly open, and which looked upon the  
 “ street. I saw his uneasiness, and it amused me ;  
 “ however, to put an end to it, I said to him,  
 “ laughing, ‘ *I know what you are thinking of ;*  
 “ *but fear not. It is now three o’clock. I will make*  
 “ *a truce with you till midnight ; and I give you my*  
 “ *word of honour, that till that time, even were the*  
 “ *doors open, I would not escape. When that hour is*  
 “ *passed, my promise is at an end, and we are enemies*  
 “ *again.*—‘ *Sir,*’ replied he, ‘ *your word is a safer*  
 “ *bond than my bars and bolts : till midnight, there-*  
 “ *fore, I am perfectly easy.*’

“ When

“ When we rose from table, the keeper took me  
 “ aside, and speaking with warmth, said, ‘ *Com-*  
 “ *modore, the Boulevard is not far. If you are in-*  
 “ *clined to take the air there, I will conduct you.*’  
 “ My astonishment was extreme; nor could I  
 “ conceive how this man, who appeared so severe,  
 “ and so uneasy, should thus suddenly persuade  
 “ himself to make me such a proposal. I accepted  
 “ it, however, and in the evening we went out.  
 “ From that time forward this confidence always  
 “ continued. Whenever I was desirous to enjoy  
 “ perfect liberty, I offered him a *suspension of arms*  
 “ till a certain hour. This my generous enemy  
 “ never refused; but when the armistice was at an  
 “ end, his vigilance was unbounded. Every post  
 “ was examined; and if the government ordered  
 “ that I should be kept close, the order was en-  
 “ forced with the greatest care. Thus I was again  
 “ free to contrive and prepare for my escape, and  
 “ he to treat me with the utmost rigour.

“ This man had a very accurate idea of the ob-  
 “ ligations of honour. He often said to me,  
 “ ‘ *Were you even under sentence of death, I would*  
 “ *permt you to go out on your parole, because I should*  
 “ *be certain of your return. Many very honest pri-*  
 “ *soners, and I myself among the rest, would not re-*

“ turn



“ turn in the like case ; but an officer, and especially  
 “ an officer of distinction, holds his honour dearer than  
 “ his life. I know it to be a fact, Commodore ; and  
 “ therefore I should be less uneasy, if you desired the  
 “ gates to be always open.’

“ My keeper was right. While I enjoyed my  
 “ liberty, I endeavoured even to lose sight of the  
 “ idea of my escape ; and I should have been  
 “ averse to employ for that object, means that had  
 “ occurred to my imagination during my hours of  
 “ liberty. One day I received a letter containing  
 “ matter of great importance, which I had the  
 “ strongest desire immediately to read ; but as its  
 “ contents related to my intended deliverance, I  
 “ asked to return to my room, and break off the  
 “ truce. The keeper however refused, saying,  
 “ with a laugh, that he wanted to take some sleep.  
 “ Accordingly he lay down, and I postponed the  
 “ perusal of my letter till the evening.

“ Meanwhile no opportunity of flight offered ;  
 “ but, on the contrary, the Directory ordered  
 “ me to be treated with rigour. The keeper  
 “ punctually obeyed all the orders he received ;  
 “ and he who the preceding evening had granted  
 “ me the greatest liberty, now doubled my guard,  
 “ in order to exercise a more perfect vigilance.

“ Among

" Among the prisoners was a man condemned  
 " for certain political offences to ten years con-  
 " finement, and whom all the other prisoners sus-  
 " pected of acting in the detestable capacity of a  
 " spy upon his companions. Their suspicions  
 " indeed appeared to have some foundation, and  
 " I felt the greatest anxiety on account of my  
 " friend John. I was however fortunate enough  
 " soon after to obtain his liberty. An exchange  
 " of prisoners being about to take place, I applied  
 " to have *my servant* included in the cartel; and  
 " though this request might easily have been re-  
 " fused, fortunately no difficulty arose, and it was  
 " granted.

" When the day of his departure arrived, my  
 " kind and affectionate friend could scarcely be  
 " prevailed on to leave me; till at length he  
 " yielded to my most earnest entreaties. We  
 " parted with tears in our eyes, which to me were  
 " the tears of pleasure, because my friend was  
 " leaving a situation of the greatest danger. The  
 " amiable *jockey* was regretted by every one: our  
 " turnkeys drank a good journey to him, nor  
 " could the girl he had courted help weeping for  
 " his departure; while her mother, who thought

“ John a very *good youth*, hoped she should one  
 “ day call him her son-in-law.

“ I was soon informed of his arrival in London;  
 “ and this circumstance rendered my own captivity less painful. I should have been happy to  
 “ have also exchanged my secretary; but as he  
 “ had no other dangers to encounter than those  
 “ which were common to us both, he always re-  
 “ jected the idea, considering it as a violation of  
 “ that friendship, of which he has given me so  
 “ many proofs.

“ On the 4th Sept. (18th Fructidor) the rigour  
 “ of my confinement was still further increased.  
 “ The keeper, whose name was Lafne, was dis-  
 “ placed; I was again kept close prisoner; and,  
 “ together with my liberty, lost the hopes of a  
 “ peace, which I had thought approaching, and  
 “ which this event must contribute to postpone.

“ At this time a proposal was made to me for  
 “ my escape, which I adopted as my last resource.  
 “ The plan was, to have forged orders drawn up  
 “ for my removal to another prison, and thus to  
 “ carry me off. A French gentleman, M. de  
 “ Phélieux, a man of equal intrepidity and  
 “ generosity, offered to execute this enterprise.

“ The

“ The order then being accurately imitated,  
 “ and, by means of a bribe, the real stamp of the  
 “ minister’s signature procured, nothing remained  
 “ but to find men bold enough to put the plan in  
 “ execution. Phéliepeaux and Ch. L’Oiseau would  
 “ have eagerly undertaken it; but both being  
 “ known, and even notorious at the Temple, it  
 “ was absolutely necessary to employ others.  
 “ Messrs. B\*\*\* and L\*\*\* therefore, both men of  
 “ tried courage, accepted the office with pleasure  
 “ and alacrity.

“ With this order then they came to the Tem-  
 “ ple; M. B\*\*\* in the dress of an adjutant,  
 “ and M. L\*\*\* as an officer. The keeper having  
 “ perused the order, and attentively examined the  
 “ minister’s signature, went into another room,  
 “ leaving my two deliverers for some time in the  
 “ cruellest uncertainty and suspense. At length  
 “ he returned, accompanied by the register (or  
 “ greffier) of the prison, and ordered me to be  
 “ called. When the register informed me of the  
 “ orders of the Directory, I pretended to be very  
 “ much concerned at it; but the Adjutant assured  
 “ me, in the most serious manner, ‘ that the go-  
 “ vernment were very far from intending to ag-  
 “ gravate my misfortunes, and that I should be



“ very comfortable at the place whither he was  
 “ ordered to conduct me.’ I expressed my grati-  
 “ tude to all the servants employed about the  
 “ prison, and, as you may imagine, was not very  
 “ long in packing up my clothes.

“ At my return, the register observed, that at  
 “ least six men from the guard must accompany  
 “ me; and the Adjutant, without being in the  
 “ least confounded, acquiesced in the justice of the  
 “ remark, and gave orders for them to be called  
 “ out. But *on reflection*, and remembering, as it  
 “ were, the laws of chivalry and of honour, he  
 “ addressed me, saying, ‘ *Commodore, you are an*  
 “ *officer. I am an officer also. Your parole will be*  
 “ *enough. Give me that, and I have no need of an*  
 “ *escort.*’—‘ Sir,’ replied I, ‘ *if that is sufficient, I*  
 “ *swear upon the faith of an officer, to accompany*  
 “ *you wherever you choose to conduct me.*’ Every  
 “ one applauded this *noble action*, while I confess I  
 “ had myself great difficulty to avoid smiling.

“ The keeper now asked for a discharge, and  
 “ the register gave the book to M. B\*\*\*, who  
 “ boldly signed it, with a proper flourish, L. Oger,  
 “ Adjutant-general. Meanwhile I employed the  
 “ attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with  
 “ favours, to prevent them from having time to  
 “ reflect;

“ reflect: nor indeed did they seem to have any  
 “ other thought than their own advantage. The  
 “ register and keeper accompanied us as far as the  
 “ second court; and at length the last gate was  
 “ opened, and we left them after a long inter-  
 “ change of ceremony and politeness.

“ We instantly entered a hackney-coach, and the  
 “ *Adjutant* ordered the coachman to drive to the  
 “ suburb of St. Germain. But the stupid fellow  
 “ had not gone a hundred paces before he broke  
 “ his wheel against a post, and hurt an unfortu-  
 “ nate passenger; and this unlucky incident  
 “ brought a crowd around us, who were very  
 “ angry at the injury the poor fellow sustained.  
 “ We quitted the coach, took our portmanteaus in  
 “ our hands, and went off in an instant. Though  
 “ the people observed us much, they did not say a  
 “ word to us, only abusing the coachman; and  
 “ when our driver demanded his fare, M. L\*\*\*,  
 “ through an inadvertency that might have caused  
 “ us to be arrested, gave him a double louis  
 “ d’or.

“ Having separated, when we quitted the car-  
 “ riage, I arrived at the appointed rendezvous  
 “ with only my secretary and M. de Phéliepeaux,  
 “ who had joined us near the prison; and though

“ I was

" I was very desirous of waiting for my two friends,  
 " to thank and take my leave of them, M. de  
 " Phéliepeaux observed, there was not a moment  
 " to be lost. I therefore postponed till another  
 " opportunity my expression of gratitude to my  
 " deliverers; and we immediately set off for  
 " Rouen, where M. R\*\*\* had made every pre-  
 " paration for our reception.

" At Rouen we were obliged to stay several  
 " days; and as our passports were perfectly regu-  
 " lar, we did not take much care to conceal our-  
 " selves, but in the evening we walked about the  
 " town, or took the air on the banks of the  
 " Seine.

" At length, every thing being ready for us to  
 " cross the channel, we quitted Rouen, and,  
 " without encountering any further dangers, I ar-  
 " rived in London, together with my secretary  
 " and my friend M. de Phéliepeaux, who could not  
 " prevail on himself to leave us."

Such, or nearly such, my dear friend, is the  
 account given by Sir Sydney Smith of his escape;  
 which, though I have written with haste, I have  
 endeavoured to relate with accuracy. I am happy  
 in having frequent opportunities of seeing Sir Syd-  
 ney,

ney, who is a brave and generous-hearted man, with a fine countenance, and eyes that sparkle with intelligence. His very appearance shows that he has an ardent imagination, which naturally prompts him to form and execute bold and important enterprises; and he seems, as it were, to be born to deserve glory, and to acquire it.

With M. Phéliepeaux, whom I also frequently see at Sir Sydney's, I have long been acquainted. He possesses talents as an officer of engineers, is a worthy man, of a mild and engaging countenance, and of tried and undoubted courage. His health seems very delicate; and yet, although a young man, he has experienced many extraordinary adventures; having served in all the campaigns in the army of Condé. He commanded in Berry, and escaped death by breaking out of a state prison. The English government has lately offered him a brevet of colonel, which he refused, saying he was in the service of the King of France, and would accept no other so long as the least hope remains of being useful to his country.

But to return to the deported. Though but little acquainted with their plans, I cannot imagine they will continue long in London. They talk already of going to the continent. Should they go to



Hamburg, I will write you by them; but some business, which I cannot bring to a conclusion, detains me here at present. Great changes are announced as about to take place in France. May they be realized for the good of all parties! But, alas! what endless evils oppress mankind! What torrents of blood have flowed since the commencement of the fatal revolution! What torrents of blood must still be shed!

Adieu, my dear friend. Continue to write to me frequently. Embrace for me our dear Paul, and remember me to the family of Pelsenn. I send you the books you ask for, a work recently published on the French revolution, and the last number of Mallet-du-Pan's *Mercure Britannique*.

Believe me wholly yours,

DE R\*\*\*.

## THE PRESENT STATE

OF ALL THE

DEPORTED PERSONS, ON THE 12TH FRUCTIDOR  
IN THE YEAR VII. (AUGUST 29TH, 1799).

OF the sixteen persons first deported to Guiana, six, as we have already seen in the course of this work, died at Sinamary, under the weight of misery and persecution : namely,

M. de Murinais, an old field-marshal, and since Parisian deputy to the Council of Elders.

Tronçon-du-Coudray, a pleader celebrated for his eloquence, and a member of the Council of Elders.

Rovère, a member of the Convention, and since re-elected to the Council of Elders.

Bourdon de l'Oise, formerly an attorney, member of the Convention, and deputy in the Council of Five Hundred.

La Vilheurnois, formerly a master of requests, and agent to Louis XVIII. condemned by a military commission to a year's imprisonment, and afterwards deported to Guiana without trial.

Brothier, a minister of religion, ex-professor of mathematics, and, during the revolution, an agent

to Louis XVIII. condemned to ten years imprisonment by a military commission, and deported as the last.

The eight following made their escape ; namely, Pichegru, ex-general (in chief), and since deputy and president of the Council of Five Hundred.

De la Rue, deputy from la Nièvre, and member of the Committee of Inspectors of the same Council.

The two last remained some months in London, but are now in Germany.

Ramel, commander of the grenadier corps of the Legislative Body, left his companions in London, and went over to the Continent to join his friend Dumas, together with whom he wrote his Narrative ; nor could he indeed have chosen a better coadjutor. They are now both at Altona near Hamburg.

Doffionville, ex-agent of police, has lately left Hamburg to join Pichegru.

Aubry, an officer of artillery, a member of the Convention, and deputy to the Council of Five Hundred. Various reports prevail concerning him. He is said by some to have died at Démérary, and by others to have arrived at Hamburg ;  
but

but nothing certain is known relative to his fate. He was, however, inscribed in the list of emigrants, and the little property he still possessed put in sequestration. His wife had made many sacrifices to procure him some relief, which she sent to him at Cayenne. This consignment was seized by Jeannet.

Willot, general of brigade, and deputy from Marseilles to the Legislative Body. He was in London on the 11th of last month, and intended to take his departure to join Pichegru. By this time they are probably together.

Barthélemy, ambassador to Switzerland, and afterwards member of the Directory. He was obliged to leave London and go to the Continent.

Le Tellier.—But my pen makes an involuntary pause, and my eyes overflow with tears of sympathy and grief.—Le Tellier is no more!—O Barthélemy! banishment was not the heaviest blow thy feeling soul endured! Yes, thou hadst once a generous friend, whose cares prolonged thy life, and that friend breathes no more. Le Tellier, alas! died on his passage from Démérari to London. "My dear master," said he, as he was breathing his last, "live but happy the rest of thy days, and  
"I die contented."



The afflicted Barthélemy, oppressed with the profoundest grief, could scarcely be persuaded to leave the corpse of his friend, which he bathed with his tears and pressed to his bosom, as though he would have re-animated it by imparting to it his own life; and it was with great difficulty he was at length removed from this melancholy scene.

Yes, excellent Le Tellier, thou art no more! But thy heroic actions shall long survive thee.—May thy name never be pronounced without respect and veneration! May thy memory be handed down to the latest posterity, and the remembrance of thy virtues sometimes silence the remembrance of the crimes that have polluted our unhappy country!

Of the exiles that refused to make their escape, only two are still at Guiana; namely,

Barbé-Marbois, ex-intendant of St. Domingo, and member of both the Legislative Assemblies.

Laffond-Ladébat, a banker, Parisian deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and afterwards re-elected to the Council of Elders, of which he was President on the 18th Fructidor.

These two deputies are still in banishment at Sinamary, where death continually hangs over them, though it has not yet destroyed them; and they

they wait with fortitude for the time when justice shall liberate them from this dread abode. At length permission has been granted them, and also to Job-Aimé, to go to the isle of Oléron. Heaven grant, that when this permission arrives, they may still be alive, and able to make use of it !

Job-Aimé is still living. On his arrival at Guiana he obtained permission from Jeannet's successor, Brunel, to establish himself in a plantation in the neighbourhood of Cayenne.

Gibert-Desmolières.—This worthy man, who was always so useful to his country, has ceased to exist. He was in the same plantation with Job-Aimé, where, after several violent fits of illness, he began to accustom himself to the pernicious climate he inhabited. But, exhausted by the excessive heats which are reflected from a burning sand, he could not resist the temptation to bathe ; in consequence of which his fever returned ; and being subject to the gout, he had also a dreadful attack of that disorder, and expired a few days after.

Twelve of those who were deported by the frigate *La Décade*, have lately effected their escape, having employed the same means, and taken the same route, as Pichegru and his friends, though it is not yet known whether they had the same success.

Almost all the rest, priests, journalists, and emigrants, have died of misery and want.

According to the Report of Desvieux, that cruel commandant, of whom the exiles had so much cause to complain, there only existed at Guiana, at the time when it was drawn up, forty of their number. Governors of France, ye that are acquainted with this fact, remove your victims from that murderous climate! Men of every party, if you are deaf to the voice of justice, listen at least to the voice of humanity! Join in demanding that these unfortunate men should be at length rescued from an approaching and a painful death. A few days longer, and they will have fallen. Perhaps even now the last of them has expired, and it is no longer in your power to save them!

MEMOIRE

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MEMOIRE OF BARBE-MARBOIS,

ADDRESSED TO HIS WIFE,

---

—Audi

Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio est.

---

Sinamary, 12 Thermidor, in the year vi.

My dear Eliza,

**I** WROTE you on the 20th Ventôse, requesting you to use all your exertions to bring on my trial. I sent you my letter at twelve different times, some by friends, some by the depositaries of public authority, requesting them to peruse it before they sent it. I have pursued the same method with the present.

A captive, at the distance of 1600 leagues from my native country, and in absolute dependance upon those by whom I am banished; alone, as it were, before the assembled nation, I enter on my defence, deprived, alas! of every aid but that of truth and justice.

Time, which brings all human affairs to a close, will one day also put a period to my banishment, either by laying me with my companions in the cemetery of Sinamary, or by restoring me to my native land.



land. But a premature, a violent, and a useless death would fix an indelible spot on those who should be the authors of it; whereas my being recalled, and afterwards tried, would be an act of equity, that would do honour to my country, restore vigour to the laws, and give splendour to the constitution. Elevated with this hope, I cease to consider myself as an insulated being; for, if justice is dear to man, and if my fellow citizens really love it, their will must be, that I should be brought to trial.

In every page of the Constitution they will find an answer equally favourable and energetic to my demand\*: and as I would never have suffered these

\* "No one shall be prosecuted, accused, arrested, or imprisoned, except in the cases determined by the law, and according to the forms prescribed." Art. VIII.

"No one shall be tried, until he has been heard or legally called." Art. XI.

"The members of the Legislative Body, from the time of their election and until thirty days after the expiration of their functions, shall only be tried according to the forms prescribed in the following articles. For criminal acts they may be seized *flagrante delicto*; but information thereof shall be communicated without delay to the Legislative Body, and the prosecution shall not be continued until the Councils shall have sanctioned the accusation." Art. CXII.

"Excepting the case of *flagrans delictum* they shall not be brought before the officers of police, or put under arrestation, until the Councils have proposed and ordered their trial." Art. CXIII.

"In

these laws to be infringed with regard to any one of my colleagues, I was very far from believing they could have been violated in my case. Still less did I apprehend, that the national representation, for the security of which all the members stand pledged to each other, and have a mutual interest in supporting the laws, would be so far misled by a fatal error as to strike a mortal blow at its own existence, by sacrificing a considerable portion of its members.

At the time this blow fell upon us, the Legislative Body expected that those who were the authors of it would produce the proofs of our crimes; that these would be so arranged as to assign to each of the accused his share of the crime; and that the criminals, most of whom did not even know each other even by sight, would be accused individually,

“ In the cases stated in the two last articles, members of the Legislative Body shall not be brought before any other tribunal than the High Court of Justice.” Art. CXIV.

“ They shall be brought before the same Court for acts of treason, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the constitution of the State, and crimes against the internal safety of the Republic.” Art. CXV.

“ No denunciation against a member of the Legislative Body can be made a ground for a process, unless drawn up in writing, signed, and addressed to the Council of Five Hundred.” Art. CXVI.

“ Accusation pronounced against a member of the Legislative Body involves his suspension.” Art. CXXIII.

and not *en masse*. Hence their just and generous impatience frequently broke out, and on the 23 Pluviôse, the very day on which I wrote to you to accelerate my trial, the Representative Bailleul spoke as follows, in the name of the Committee appointed, after our condemnation, to declare our crimes:—"It is not," said he, "through want of zeal that the Committee have not yet brought up their report relative to the events of the 18th Fructidor:" and after this candid declaration, he added, "They are expecting very important papers seized by the Minister of Police."

The Committee expected them. O Justice! Then they possessed them not, although, five months before, they sent us into banishment, or rather condemned us to death. This perhaps is the first instance upon record, in which, after so long an interval, and after the death of part of the condemned, it has been talked of to produce the proofs of an offence punished provisorily with a mortal penalty. If I am able to demonstrate my own innocence, it will be a new example of the danger of thus overturning the immutable order of all criminal procedures, and the order of reason itself, which requires the proof of the crime always to precede its punishments: and henceforward shall this case be

cited

cited in the history of extraordinary judgments, as one most calculated to show the dreadful consequences of precipitate and anticipated condemnations.

But if you had not these proofs after an interval of five months, you have surely received them since ; for the Minister of Police, you say, had seized them.

At length, after another month had elapsed, the Council of Five Hundred, received on the 26th Ventôse, this long-considered Report, which had been announced six months before, and which they ought to have received previous to our condemnation. This Report, which was at length tardily produced, as the act of accusation against the deported persons, contains the most evident proofs of my innocence.

It is true I am here speaking only of myself; though, according to an obvious rule of natural justice, the innocence of my companions must be presumed, as well as my own, till sentence is pronounced. But as every accusation ought to be personal and particular, so ought likewise the defence. Mine, which was from the first so easy, is rendered, if possible, still more simple by this Report, of which the printing was decreed : and instead of the trite assertion of, “ *I am innocent*,” which I might utter in common with the oppressed, I may say, “ *I am*



*"innocent by the Report of Bailleul."* This Report I read with the utmost avidity, rather wishing, than hoping or expecting, to find some accusation or insinuation against myself. I wished it, I say; because I should then have known to what I had to reply; whereas now, though not accused of any crime whatever, I am still equally compelled to vindicate myself, since I am punished as though I were not only accused, but tried and condemned.

"Your Committee," said Bailleul in his Report, "have collected ALL THE FACTS HITHERTO KNOWN."—"*All the facts!*" Here, then, is the accusation, together with the facts on which it is grounded. I will proceed with the help of this glimmering of justice; and if all the facts are totally foreign to me, it is evident I am not comprehended in the accusation. On reading this declaration then, which to me is so important, I redoubled my attention, and sought throughout the Report both for my name and the facts that might be laid to my charge; but my name is not once mentioned. Among the facts, however, is one in which I confess I participated together with the majority of the Councils.

"The *horde*, strengthened by the royalists," says the Representative Bailleul, "have placed  
"Barthélemy

“ Barthélemy in the Directory; that Barthélemy  
 “ who was so much spoken of in the correspondence  
 “ of Le Maître; that Barthélemy who wrote to  
 “ the author of the tragedy of Louis XVI. ‘ *I do*  
 “ *not think you can again set foot on the territories of*  
 “ *France.*’ ” To me it is indifferent whether Bar-  
 thélemy was spoken of by Le Maître, or whether  
 he wrote these words or not; but if his nomination  
 is a crime that deserves deportation, why have  
 only eleven of the 250 members of the Council of  
 Elders been deported?

But I will destroy this accusation by means still  
 more direct. Barthélemy, who had been during seven  
 years ambassador from the Republic to Switzer-  
 land, was invested both with the external marks,  
 and the real proofs of the confidence of the Di-  
 rectory. He had negotiated, concluded, and  
 signed the treaties of peace contracted between the  
 Republic and the Kings of Spain and of Prussia.  
 As Ambassador, he was particularly pointed out to  
 our choice by the Constitution; while the Execu-  
 tive, to whom belong both the nomination and  
 dismissal of the diplomatic functionaries, thus in-  
 formed us he was worthy to be placed in the Di-  
 rectory, by giving him, during so long a period,  
 the most public proofs of perfect confidence. Let

me

me ask, then, whether among the whole mass of French citizens there were many candidates who united such decisive claims to preference; and whether, provided this charge had the least foundation, the pretended crime would not belong to the Directory itself, rather than the Legislative Body? Ought not all those also to be accused that elected Carnot, who was deported equally with Barthélemy? In fact, however, this strange accusation cannot attach to either of these powers: it merely serves to show the impossibility of suggesting any real matter of accusation.

This charge being disposed of and destroyed, I do not find throughout the Report a single word that can apply to me more particularly than to any other member of the Legislative Body. Were Bailleul himself in Guiana, and had to reply to the Report, he could neither hold a different language, nor defend himself by more conclusive reasoning. The only difference between us is, that he read the Report to the Legislative Body, and I read it at Sinamary. But the distance and difference of climates cannot constitute either innocence or criminality. I am neither named, nor even pointed at, in the Report; and I cannot, without offending that body, suppose, that, had it been read to the

Council six months previous to the 18th Fructidor, they would, after hearing it, have sent me to the deserts of Guiana, where I am threatened with the same miserable fate as half my companions in deportation have experienced.

It is impossible but the colleagues of the Representative Bailleul, after having attentively heard him, must have said, " Some of the deported  
 " persons, it is true, are named in the Report ;  
 " but the rest are not even pointed at. The crimes  
 " set forth are foreign to them, and yet capital  
 " punishments have been inflicted on them all ;  
 " for those unfortunate men are following each  
 " other to the grave, and their survivors do but  
 " miserably languish under the weight of their  
 " accumulated sufferings. They have been all  
 " condemned in a mass. Sometimes, indeed, re-  
 " volutionary tribunals have heaped together  
 " various accusations, but they have always tried  
 " the accused one by one, for crimes person-  
 " ally imputed to them, and crimes detailed in  
 " their sentence. Never was it said, Paul is  
 " guilty of murder, let Paul, therefore, be con-  
 " demned to death, and with him all those who  
 " have fallen into our hands. Humanity and  
 " reason here go hand in hand with the laws in op-  
 " posing such proceedings, and even require that  
 " those



“ those who are not named shall be held to be  
 “ exempted from all condemnation.”

It is well known that the Council reminded Bailleul himself of the language of equity and wisdom, which he had spoken on the 24th Nivôse; and I have a pleasure in reciting them here: “ The  
 “ constitution,” said he, “ has laid down the forms  
 “ to be adopted in accusations of the representatives  
 “ of the people, and I demand that those rules be  
 “ conformed to.”

It would be difficult to conceive what reply Bailleul could make to this reasoning. I shall copy his answer to it from a note annexed to his Report:  
 “ Note. From my not having stated particular  
 “ facts, personally, of each of the individuals  
 “ comprehended in the law of deportation, it  
 “ may, perhaps, be inferred, that those, at least,  
 “ who are not mentioned in the documents by  
 “ name, ought not to be considered as guilty.  
 “ But this would be a great mistake. Suppose a  
 “ house to be broke open and robbed, and that  
 “ the thieves go off together, some of them only  
 “ carrying away the stolen goods, in this case can  
 “ it be said the rest are innocent, because there is  
 “ no other proof but that they entered and left the  
 “ house together, and that they continued in com-  
 “ pany,

“ pany, and did not separate ? The crime consists  
 “ in the violation of the house of a citizen, not in  
 “ the unknown share each individual may have had  
 “ in the acts by which the crime was perpetrated.  
 “ In the present case, a vast conspiracy has existed  
 “ to cause the suffrages of the people to fall on bad  
 “ citizens. It is evident that these bad citizens, in  
 “ the various functions entrusted to them, have  
 “ pursued the steps pointed out to them by the  
 “ agents of the conspiracy, have borrowed their lan-  
 “ guage, have been present at their meetings, and  
 “ that the plot was on the point of breaking out.  
 “ It is evident, therefore, that they are implicated  
 “ in the conspiracy, although we cannot state of  
 “ each individual, that he did such specific acts, or  
 “ describe the precise part he was to perform.”

See page 47.

Although I have faithfully extracted this note,  
 I must observe, that it was not read to the Council,  
 and is no part of the Report of which the printing  
 was ordered. I should even refrain from answering  
 it, were I not determined to confute every ob-  
 jection, how futile soever it may be, in order to  
 prove, that not even any thing the least specious in  
 appearance can be laid to my charge.

This task, indeed, is extremely easy; for even supposing the words just quoted had been read at the tribune previous to my condemnation, their plain and obvious sense is, that a band of robbers, had been surprised plundering a house, and that I was one of the number. The Council, therefore, would immediately have asked where and what I had stolen? whether the banker's strong box, the national treasure, or some deposit or magazine of goods, either public or private? To this Bailleul would have replied, They have conspired; I have spoken of them as robbers merely by way of metaphor. They have conspired then, would the judges have said, and you say they did not separate; interrogate me, I should have said, " On the 18th  
 " Fructidor I was arrested at the house of the pre-  
 " sident, where seven of us were assembled, namely,  
 " Laffond the President, Piedac Dericot, Tron-  
 " çon, Launois, Goupil Preseln, Maillard, and  
 " myself. When the Gendarmerie came, the  
 " doors were freely opened, and no one attempted  
 " to fly; we were conducted without the least  
 " resistance to the house of the Minister Sottin;  
 " we pointed out to him that there was a mistake,  
 " and that the order of arrestation named a dif-  
 " ferent house; he acknowledged it, said it was of  
 " no

“ no consequence, and added these truly memorable words : ‘ That after what he had taken upon himself, the committing himself a little more or a little less was of little importance ; ’ and upon this explanation we were all sent to the Temple.” Yet of all the seven, only Laffond, Tronçon, and I, were sent to Guiana ; the rest were set at liberty the next day, and restored to their legislative functions. This proves that it is not to the President’s house that Bailleul refers, and that we were not conspiring there ; and thus his conspiracy also is a mere *metaphor*.

By this simple and easy analysis, the Council would have cleared up a subject purposely clothed in obscurity ; they would not have suffered that the statement and the terms of it should be changed ; that a mere unsubstantial phantom, that shrinks and vanishes from examination, should be produced as a conclusive witness ; or that, in order to execute judgment upon us, and condemn us to punishments of which death is too certainly the consequence, recourse should be had to tropes and figures for want of more solid and decisive proofs.

Citizen Bailleul accuses us of causing certain counter-revolutionary decrees to pass ; such vague and general imputations afford not even matter for



discussion or reply ; one single observation instantly destroys this accusation. At the sittings of the Council of Elders, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred members usually assembled, whereas the proscribed members are only eleven ! Besides, these decrees ought to have been specified, as also the individuals who supported or opposed them. Bailleul specifies the decree of "*The organization of the Gendarmerie, so drawn up that no officer of the revolution can enter it.*" Yet this very decree, when brought into the Council of Elders, was discussed and rejected. If it be said this rejection does not disprove the intention of the deported members to pass it, I reply, that only one of the deported members spoke, and that member was myself ; I spoke to oppose it, and it is recorded upon the journals of the Council, that my speech was ordered to be printed ; consequently it may be found among the archives, immediately after my objections had been heard, that the law was rejected. Where then is this *conspiracy*, this uniform *language*, these *meetings*, and this *agreement* between us ? How is it that this resolution is a crime common both to him who proposed it to the Council of Five Hundred, and to him who efficaciously opposed it in the Council of Elders, and that these

persons

persons should be together sent into banishment to Guiana? I am far, however, from supposing this resolution in the Council of Five Hundred can be converted into a crime: but even according to those who consider it as criminal, the orator who opposed it, and the Council that, immediately upon that opposition, rejected it, deserve praise and commendation.

Thus, anxiously employed in this careful, nay severe search, for all that can be imputed to me, I find my name in a list of royal ministers, which Charles La Vilhurnois thought proper to deliver in. This mention of me is not, however, taken up by the Representative Bailleul either in consequence of that general maxim, that we are not to be accused for the act of another, or because this could not be laid to my charge as a crime, while seven other citizens, who are likewise in the list, have not suffered the least reproach on that account. Two days ago I was present at the death of Charles La Vilhurnois, whose hut is near my own; but I declare, as he also declared himself, that at the time of his trial we did not even know each other.

Thus do those clouds vanish on which it has been attempted to found a posthumous accusation, for such is the name it truly deserves, since half the

deported have already followed each other to the grave at Sinamary, after dragging on a wretched and miserable life. But this recital of all our sufferings would but afflict our friends, and fill our enemies with joy : I will spare the one that pain, I will deprive the other of that pleasure.

I will add, however, a statement that may show the chances of mortality at Guiana. To me, indeed, this sad office peculiarly belongs, since I am one of the extremes of the dreadful proportion. Of all things that excite the fears and terrors of mankind, death is the most dreaded ; the laws have made it the last and greatest in the list of punishments, and hatred and vengeance cease when their victims are in the grave. For us, deportation is in fact condemnation, without trial, either to a sure and speedy death, or to a lingering and no less certain destruction. Of ten members of the Legislative Body who have been deported to Guiana, four have escaped this almost unavoidable doom by flight : they consigned themselves to the ocean in a fragile bark, and I am ignorant of their fate ; of the six that remain, three have died in seven months, one of them being the oldest of our number, another of a middle age, and the third the youngest of us all : of their three survivors, two  
have

have been dangerously ill, and are scarcely able to pass the perilous gulf of convalescence. Such are our bills of mortality at Guiana, while at Paris, in the same space of time, only one member has died out of the seven hundred and fifty who compose the Legislative Body. Thus the chances of death at Paris and Guiana are as one to three hundred and seventy-five, or, to adopt the language of an assurance-office, the premium for insuring the life of a person deported without trial would be three hundred and seventy-five per cent. for every one per cent. it would have cost at Paris for an equal space of time.

And as if every thing concurred to prove the fatal accuracy of this calculation, of the two other deported persons, not members of the Legislative Body, one is likewise dead, namely, Charles La Vilhurnois. These ravages exceed the most deadly pest, and are at least equal to the punishment of cutting off the ears, flitting the nose, and shaving the head, inflicted by the Russian laws on certain criminals, and which some hireling writers have compared with the *pleasures* of our situation at Guiana.

"Blood has not been shed," you say (page 46); and is every thing lawful but the effusion of blood?



blood? Do not men die without the effusion of blood? Ah! had you heard my unfortunate companions exclaim during their long and cruel sufferings, "Would to God, that on the 18th Fructidor my life had been taken from me!"

Let me ask whether the people of France in their conscience approve that we should be thus treated without form of trial? Do they approve that men, who are presumed innocent until sentence of condemnation, should suffer the same punishment as a criminal tried and condemned for a capital crime; that guilt and innocence should be thus confounded in the opinion of the careless and inattentive; that by this confusion of ideas and subversion of order, the influence of example and all our notions of justice should be destroyed, and that the dread of like unauthorized punishment should henceforward hang over the heads of the most irreproachable citizens, as though they were the most criminal?

Some of us have, as it were miraculously, survived the destructive effects of the climate, and the depression of our wretched fate. Thus we afford the national justice of our country an opportunity to repair this violation of law and justice, of which error has rendered us the victims: and

justice

justice cannot be granted to us, without in some measure granting it to the memory of those who have already perished. No one has an interest in preventing me from being brought to trial. All our friends, and every honest man, will support your demand. Even my enemies will support it, my dear Eliza, if they would wish to pass for honest men. I am aware, however, that one difficulty may occur. "How can we try a man," they may say, "against whom there is no accusation?" "and could one be found, and were the accused acquitted, it will be more evident than ever, that he has been unjustly punished." This objection, it is true, is important; but you may reply to it as follows: "When I demand to be tried, a refusal would make my innocence the more striking; and my defence would draw new strength from the silence and dereliction of my denouncers. If, on the contrary, I am brought to trial, the consequence, which is still uncertain, may be fatal. In the one case nothing can palliate their injustice, in the other there is some chance of their being successful. At the time of the Report of the 26th Ventôse, there existed not the shadow of a crime, but since that period proofs and indications might be

D D

" found.

"found. They may be collected until the mo-  
 "ment of trial. Who knows but the in-  
 "dictment may bring some offence of some  
 "species or other home to me?" 'Tis thus they  
 defend themselves from the reproach of having  
 refused me that which cannot be refused to any  
 one. Innocent or guilty, they will get rid of an im-  
 portunate reasoner, who incessantly repeats to  
 them, "I am in your power, and yet you dare  
 "not try me; because you know I am innocent,  
 "and it is more convenient for you to wait till  
 "death shall close my lips." Lastly, should I be  
 acquitted, it will be honourable for them to say,  
 "We were his enemies, but were not willing to  
 "deprive him of the right of legally proving his in-  
 "nocence."

If some of those you may address, forgetting  
 that the duty of doing justice to every one is trans-  
 mitted from one magistrate to another, should ob-  
 ject that our misfortunes are not their act, that it  
 is not their business to repair the injuries other men  
 may have committed, and that it is not for them  
 to acquit me; tell them I do not demand it of  
 them: I only demand the exercise of a right that  
 belongs to all men, and which it is equally im-  
 portant

portant to them and to me to maintain inviolable—  
I mean the right of trial.

The greatest misfortune that can happen to a judge is to condemn an innocent man. For such an error, remorse would embitter his whole life. But this misfortune in those who have condemned me will be repaired, and their consciences appeased, should I but be tried, be the issue what it may.

We have seen victorious factions in the moment of triumph strike at every one that was within their reach, and the heat of the conflict seemed to excuse their excesses. But I can never imagine an established, consolidated, and regular government will coldly, and in violation of the laws, prolong the sufferings of an innocent citizen, and unnecessarily expose him to almost certain death.

The power of the Legislature is unlimited in whatever does not infringe the social compact, that is, the constitution; which alone is paramount to it. But the constitution, neither the Legislature nor the whole Nation can infringe. If the people are desirous to change it, they must declare their will, and till then this supreme law is inviolable. Even when it undergoes a regular change, it can-



not have a retrospective power over past transactions and events.

What then shall we say of that singular and striking sentence which concludes Bailleul's Report: "Let us banish those absurd theories of pretended principles, and those stupid appeals to the constitution?" Behold how we must proceed, if we ceased for a moment to make justice our rule of conduct. Having first violated the laws, we must then, in our own defence, declare those to be stupid, who appeal to them; and it naturally follows, that those are wise and enlightened men, who violate them: and thus would men be necessarily driven into anarchy and confusion. I doubt not, however, but this doctrine must be promulgated during a banishment that is accompanied with a refusal of trial. How indeed can such measures be reconciled with the positive provisions of the law? How can they appeal to them, so long as *we* are the living instances of their violation? and even our death is so far from soothing our enemies, that it only shows in a more striking manner, that the laws are totally impotent and destitute of force. What! and is the solemn and periodical reading of the Constitution, the invocation for its preservation, but the amusement of fools?

fools? What then must be the language of the enemies of the Constitution? Or would it be difficult to draw up an accusation against me, if such an assertion could be found in my writings?

But let us, on the contrary, remember the oath we have taken never to violate this fundamental law, and to defend it at the peril of our lives. The people of France have not yet lost their ancient and habitual veneration for oaths. They condemn those who violate them; they esteem those who inviolably adhere to them. In the simplicity of their hearts and understandings, they judge that a constitution declared inviolable, and confirmed by an oath, cannot be infringed without the crime of perjury, and have no idea that its observance can be mere stupidity. Between these two manners of thinking, I necessarily choose that of the people.

One more reflection, and I have done. In a state of nature, a just conviction of the violation of the contract renders it null and void; and this takes place between two nations, because there is no superior magistrate to guarantee and enforce the performance of the treaty. But within the limits of a state, no contract can be more sacred or more solemn than those by which a nation binds itself towards

towards itself and its own magistrates. These compacts are inviolable, because there is an adequate power to enforce the obedience of the refractory. This case has been provided for by the Constitution.

I am willing, however, to allow all that ought to be allowed to extraordinary circumstances, to unforeseen events, or even to force. I will suppose the danger of the Directory so great, that they imagined themselves in a state of nature with regard to the real or reputed faction, and therefore authorized, for their own preservation, to violate the social compact. If so, either force has restored the equilibrium, or that equilibrium is not yet restored. If the latter be the fact, we are still in a state of anarchy; and the friends of order being surrounded with discord, must submit to bear the yoke of factions that will successively triumph in their turn. But this is not the real state of things. The body politic is organized, in full activity, and enjoys the perfect vigour of existence. But it is evident this body can only be preserved by justice; and therefore it is the duty of the magistrates to deliver me without delay to the tribunals, and thus to repair the injury the Constitution has received. If I am innocent, my punishment ought to cease;

if

if guilty, yet that punishment is a real oppression until it shall be pronounced and sanctioned by my judges. An omnipotent government ought, if they wish to maintain a character of justice, immediately to bring me to trial. This would even be the duty of a weak and falling government: for it could only recover its strength by clinging to the statue of Justice. The path of those who are at the head of affairs in a powerful but tottering empire, sinking beneath the most violent shocks, is pointed out by reason. The first step to recover from the crisis of destruction leads to the temple of Justice. If there are citizens accused of any crime, deliver them to the tribunals. This vigorous measure will reanimate the hope of all good citizens, keep the factious under due restraint, consolidate the national credit, please every honest man, and satisfy the whole people of France; while punishments without trial do but fill the citizens with useless terror, and proclaim to all the world the weakness of an expiring government.

I cannot better confirm the foregoing reflections than by quoting the striking language of the Tribunal of Appeal, in a sentence pronounced by them on the 25th Pluviôse last; and I demand that the same words be applied to my own case. "The  
 " noblest



“ noblest use,” say they, “ which a government  
 “ can make of the powers entrusted to it by the  
 “ people, is to repress the public functionaries who  
 “ shall violate the forms established for the pre-  
 “ servation of liberty.”

I am fond also of recalling to mind that important maxim with which Bailleul's Report concludes: “ To have a right to be severe, we must  
 “ first be just.”

Endeavour, my dear Eliza, endeavour to have me extricated by a trial from this dreadful solitude, in which the death of my companions has left me, and thus put an end to the torments I have endured for these twelve months past. Fear not that your zeal can be fatal to me, or that my boldness should be punished by an increase of rigour. The fortitude and constancy of an oppressed and innocent man, who only demands to be tried with severity, will soon attract the attention and excite the interest of the public. To shield me from an imaginary and at least a doubtful evil, your affection would expose me to certain death; and you yourself would fall a victim to your sorrows. Oh, endeavour to enable me, once more before I die, to behold my dear old mother of fourscore, and you and our child, and our native country.

fieldon

(Signed)

BARBE-MARBOIS.

## A P P E N D I X.

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### No. I.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

*Instructions given by the Special Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana to Citizen Boucher, Commissary of War, relative to the Persons deported, in conformity to the Law of the 19th Fructidor, in the Year V.*

### Art. I.

**CITIZEN** Boucher, Commissary of War, who is to accompany the deported persons to Sinamary, in execution of the law of the 19th Fructidor, shall, on the 6th of this month, go on board of the ship appointed to convey them.

II. At the time of their disembarkation at Sinamary, he shall accompany them to the place prepared for their reception, and proceed, together with the Commandant of that station, and the Engineer Prévoſt, to ſee them properly diſpoſed of.

III. He ſhall take care that the effects ſent for their uſe to the keeper of the ſtores, be equally diſtributed among them, and take a receipt for the ſame.

IV. He ſhall attend at the diſtribution which Citizen Prévoſt is authorized to make to the deported, of an acre  
E E of

of land each, as an usufruct out of the unoccupied lands nearest to their residence \*.

V. Should any of the deported express a desire to be situated near each other in the settlements prepared for them, he shall accede to their request.

VI. Should one or more of the deported wish to hire, at their own expense, houses or apartments for their greater accommodation, he shall consent thereto, provided these apartments be within the town of Sinamary, and not elsewhere.

VII. Citizen Boucher shall declare to all the deported together, that their residence at Sinamary, although conformable to the intentions of the government, is, however, merely provisionary †; that during the whole of their stay they must never pass the sea to the northward; the left bank of the Kourou to the eastward; and two days and a half's journey to the southward; or to the right bank of the Iracombo to the westward; but they may go at their own expense as far as its mouth, only to communicate with the French town, and the Indian village bearing the same name with that river.

That their excursions must always be so regulated, that they may every Quintidi and Decadi be at their respective residences from ten to eleven in the forenoon, to receive the visit of the Commandant of the Post, who is to transmit an account of their proceedings ‡.

\* This concession was absolutely nugatory and without effect, as the residence of the deported at Sinamary was but provisionary, and they were not allowed to have any labourers.

† Thus was their future condition left in total uncertainty, it being only declared that it depended solely on the arbitrary will of the Agent.

‡ This restriction rendered the permission to traverse the extent of country assigned, and which has been so much boasted in France, as if they enjoyed perfect liberty, totally null and useless.

That

That for their own security they should beware not to go to any distance without guides.

That the store-keeper of the station shall furnish each of them with sailors' allowance till further orders.

That the Commissary shall continue to furnish them with the requisite clothing upon demand.

That in case of sickness they shall be attended by the surgeon of the station, either at the military hospital or at their own homes, but in the latter case at their own particular expense.

That no instruments of husbandry, fishing-tackle, or hunting accoutrements, shall be supplied them by the Republic till they are put in possession of the ground ultimately designed for their use.

That henceforward, to procure these articles, as well as all others they may desire, whether for use or pleasure, they must apply directly to the Commissary.

That as to their correspondence both with the capital of the colony and abroad, they may send their letters under seal to the Commandant of the Post, under whatever addresses and covers they may think proper, and the same shall be forwarded.

VIII. Citizen Boucher is authorized to read to the deported, articles IV. V. VI. VII. and VIII. of these presents, and even to furnish copies thereof to those who shall desire them.

IX. Before quitting Sinamary he shall procure sufficient documents of the steps he shall have taken in virtue of these instructions.

If he should foresee that he will be obliged to continue in that district two whole days after his disembarkation, he shall the next day inform the Commandant of the same, that the schooner may be forthwith sent back, together with the persons it is to convey; in that case Citizen



**Boucher shall return to Cayenne by land, which he shall perform with the least delay possible.**

**At Cayenne, the 4th Frimaire, in the year VI. of the Republic.**

(Signed)

**JEANNET.**

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**No. II.**

*Arrêté of the Special Agent of the Executive Directory.*

Being informed by the dispatches of the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies, under date of 11th Pluviôse, and 25th Ventôse last, that it is the intention of the Directory, that the deported may form agricultural and commercial establishments in all parts of Guiana, except the capital of the colony and the island of Cayenne, orders as follows :

**Art. I.** Every deported person who shall desire to form an agricultural or commercial establishment in any part of the colony not excepted by the Executive Directory, shall be required to present a demand to that effect to the Departmental Administration, through the medium of the Commandant in Chief, accompanied with a certificate from a land or householder, viewed by the Municipality of the district where the said land or householder resides, proving that the demandant is in treaty for the purchase or hire of a plantation or house, and that he has sufficient means to cultivate the said plantation, or to carry on trade.

**II.** The Departmental Administration shall ascertain the fact set forth in the certificate which accompanies the demand, which demand they shall forthwith forward, together with their opinion and the grounds thereof, to the Agent of the Executive Directory, that he may thereupon proceed to determine upon the whole, in such manner as shall seem fit.

The

The Departmental Administration and the Commandant in Chief are charged, each in their respective departments, to put in force this present arrêté, which shall be printed and posted up.

Ordered at the national residence of the Agent of the Executive Directory at Cayenne, this 30th Prairial, in the year VI. of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) JEANNET.

By the Agent of the Executive Directory,  
(Signed) EDMÉ MAUDUIT,  
Secretary-general to the Agent.

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*Note*—It is evident that this arrêté was a mere voluntary concession, in the nature of an indulgence, since it only concerned those of the deported, who might desire to form establishments.

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No. III.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The Special Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana, having examined the Report of the Commissary, under date of the 8th of this month, from which it appears, the expenses occasioned by the deported, from the 22d Brumaire to the 30th Floréal last, amount to 22,022 fr. 5 cents, orders as follows:—

Art. I. From this time forth till the 22d Brumaire of the year VII. nothing shall be furnished to the deported now at Sinamary, but their lodging; a sailor's allowance per day, and their attendance at the military hospital and maritime ports, or in case of sickness.

II.

II. There shall however be held, at the disposition of the five deported persons, who have received less than 600 franks in stores of the Republic, a sum of 821 franks 15 cents, which shall be divided among them in the proportion of what they have already received.

III. The regulations of Art. I. are extended to Billaud.

IV. All former regulations contrary hereto are revoked.

The Chief of Administration acting in the capacity of Commissary, is charged with the execution of the present Arrêté.

Ordered at the national residence of the Agent of the Executive Directory, this 10th Prairial, in the year VI. of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

JEANNET.

By the Agent of the Directory,

(Signed) EDMÉ MAUDUIT,

Secretary-general to the Agent.

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No. IV.

*Extract of a Letter to the Commissary, from the Agent of the Executive Directory, 9th Fructidor, in the year VII.*

You will understand with the Commandant in Chief, so as to notify to the aforesaid individuals (the deported at Sinamary), that if, previous to the 26th of this month, they do not show that they are likely to settle themselves, on their own account, in Guiana, they shall then be conducted to Conanama by the armed force, and assimilated with the deported who are resident there; and the same shall be executed accordingly.

In consequence of this regulation it should seem, that  
every

every expence, on account of the deported at Sinamary, ought to cease on the 1st Vendémiaire next.

(Signed) JEANNET DADIN.

A true Copy.

(Signed) Commandant in Chief,  
DESVIEUX.

The Chief of Administration of the Marine,  
ROUTTAGEN.

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*Note*—The Commissary, in his Letter. to the Store-keeper, added, that in consequence of this measure, the Commandant should remove his quarters back again to the old Presbytery, and all extra rent caused by the residence of the deported at Sinamary, would also cease on the 1st Vendémiaire.

It must be observed, that the Commandant had then resided above two months at the old Presbytery.

By these contradictions, and more particularly by the harsh style of this last letter, it may be perceived to how arbitrary a power the deported are subject.

The number of deaths is accurately compared with the Extracts and Statements sent to the Minister of Marine.

THE END.



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FROM THE FRENCH OF  
**GENERAL RAMEL,**  
COMMANDANT OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY GUARD.

*Et quorum pars magna fui!*

**OF THE**

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*European Magazine, July.*

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